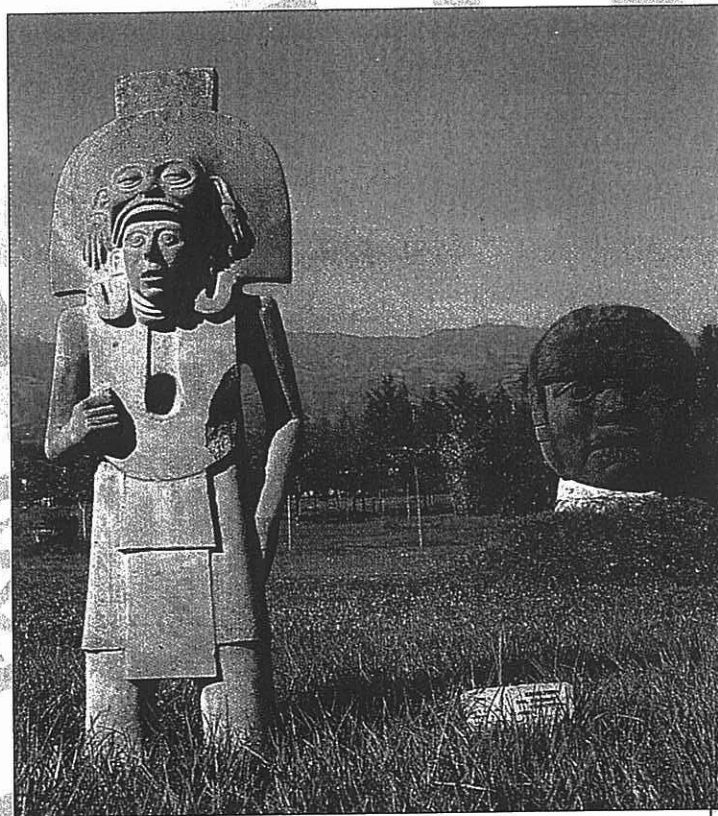


## Chapter 20

# GEOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA



**Ancient Mexican Art** These stone carvings from early Mexican civilizations are in an outdoor park. The giant head was made by the Olmecs in about 900 B.C. The standing figure, from the Maya civilization, dates from A.D. 800. These ancient civilizations had a lasting influence on the diverse cultures of the Americas.

**Fine Art** Why do you think these artworks are on display in a public park?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 The Shape of the Land
- 2 Climates and People
- 3 Early Civilizations

**T**housands of years ago, Native Americans paddled canoes from northern South America to the islands of the Caribbean Sea. They were a peaceful people who had been driven from their homes by warlike neighbors.

The islands of the Caribbean seemed a perfect place in which to settle. Trees loaded with fruit offered an abundant food supply. The coastal waters abounded with fish.

The newcomers gave thanks to their many gods—of the sun, the sea, the rain—who favored the islands with their riches. Soon, however, they learned about the god Hurakan. During late summer and early fall, Hurakan sent terrible storms to the islands. Howling winds, blinding rains, and 50-foot waves crashed over the beaches, wrecking everything in their path.

The fearful islanders prayed to this dreaded god of storms:

“Oh dread wind of the sea,  
please stay away from  
our shores.”

Later, when Europeans reached the islands of the Caribbean, they, too, felt the fury of tropical storms. They called the storms hurricanes, after the islanders' fierce god Hurakan.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

Today, hurricanes still rip across the land bordering the Caribbean Sea. These storms are one of the many ways geography affects Latin America. Latin America is a vast cultural region that stretches from Mexico to the tip of South America. A variety of landforms and climates have helped to shape the cultures of this huge region.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Latin America is a region of widely diverse physical features, climates, and cultures.
- ▶ Physical features and climate have influenced the patterns of settlement in the region.
- ▶ Latin American cultures are a mixture of Native American, African, and European traditions.
- ▶ Advanced civilizations, including those of the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas, emerged in the Americas.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

Prayer to Hurakan, islanders of the Caribbean Sea

*The Incas*, Pedro Cieza de León

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

## THE SHAPE OF THE LAND

### FIND OUT

What regions and landforms does Latin America include?


How have geographic features contributed to regionalism?

What river systems are important to Latin America?

**Vocabulary** pampas, regionalism

Two high peaks guard a rugged valley in the mountains of Mexico. From time to time, wisps of smoke rise from the one called Popocatepetl (poh poh kah TEH peht ' l), or Smoking Mountain. Snow blankets a companion mountain, Ixtacihuatl (eehs tah SEE waht ' l), or Sleeping Woman.

An Indian legend tells the origins of the two peaks. Long ago, a prince left his beloved wife and went off to war. After a time, word reached the princess that her husband had been killed in battle. Grief-stricken, she lay down, covered herself with a white robe, and died.

The prince, however, had not been slain in battle. When he returned to find his wife in the sleep of death, he knelt beside her and burned incense to her memory. The smoke rising from Popocatepetl reminds people today of this ancient tale. Throughout Latin America, legends such as this expressed people's feelings about the lands in which they lived. (  See Connections With Literature, "Popocatepetl and Ixtlaccihuatl," page 806.)

### A Vast Region

The term Latin America refers to a vast cultural region. It includes the lands in the Western Hemisphere that were influenced by Spanish and Portuguese settlers. The word





### MAP STUDY

Latin America includes Mexico, Central America, the islands of the Caribbean, and South America. This region has a varied topography, but mountains and highlands are its dominant landforms.

- Place** Identify the mountains that run the length of western South America.
- Location** (a) Identify the largest area of lowlands in South America. (b) Describe the relative location of these lowlands.
- Solving Problems** What river systems have the nations of South America probably used for transportation and trade.

Latin refers to the language that is a common root for Spanish and Portuguese.

**Subregions.** Latin America stretches for about 5,500 miles (8,851 km) from the Rio Grande in Mexico to Cape Horn at the tip of South America. This vast area has two main subregions: Middle America and South America.

Middle America lies in the Northern Hemisphere. It includes Mexico, the 7 nations of Central America, and 13 island nations and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean.\*

Much of South America lies in the Southern Hemisphere. South America has 12 independent countries and two foreign-ruled territories, the Falkland Islands and French Guiana. One country, Brazil, covers half the land and has half the population of the entire continent.

**Location.** Latin America lies between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. These oceans link countries within Latin America and connect Latin America to other regions. For centuries, the Atlantic Ocean has served as a highway

\* After the voyages of Christopher Columbus, Europeans called these islands the West Indies.

between Europe, Latin America, and Africa. Today, the Pacific Ocean is increasingly important as a trade route. Nations on the west coast of Latin America are developing close ties with Pacific Rim countries of Asia.

Latin America shares the Western Hemisphere with the United States and Canada. In Chapter 23, you will read about the great influence the United States has exercised over Latin America since the 1800s.

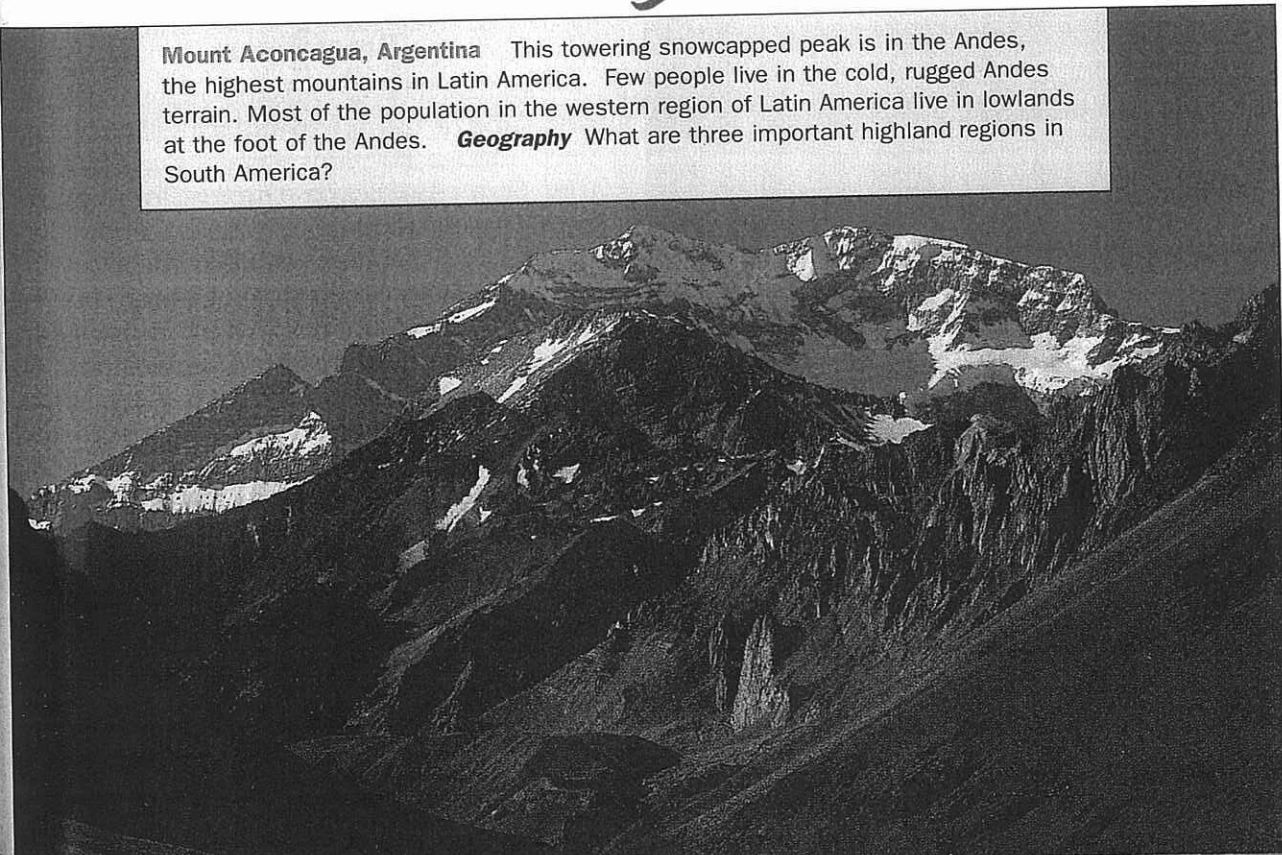
## Major Landforms

Latin America, which covers one sixth of the world's land surface, has a great variety of landforms. Much of the land consists of rugged mountains or highlands.

**Mountains and highlands.** Perhaps the most striking physical feature of Latin America is the backbone of high mountains, called La Cordillera, that run the length of the region. These mountains actually begin in the Rocky Mountains of western Canada and the United States. In Mexico, the mountains split into two ranges. The Sierra Madre West (see EHR uh MAH dray) rise along the Pacific coast, while the Sierra Madre East stand near the

3

**Mount Aconcagua, Argentina** This towering snowcapped peak is in the Andes, the highest mountains in Latin America. Few people live in the cold, rugged Andes terrain. Most of the population in the western region of Latin America live in lowlands at the foot of the Andes. **Geography** What are three important highland regions in South America?



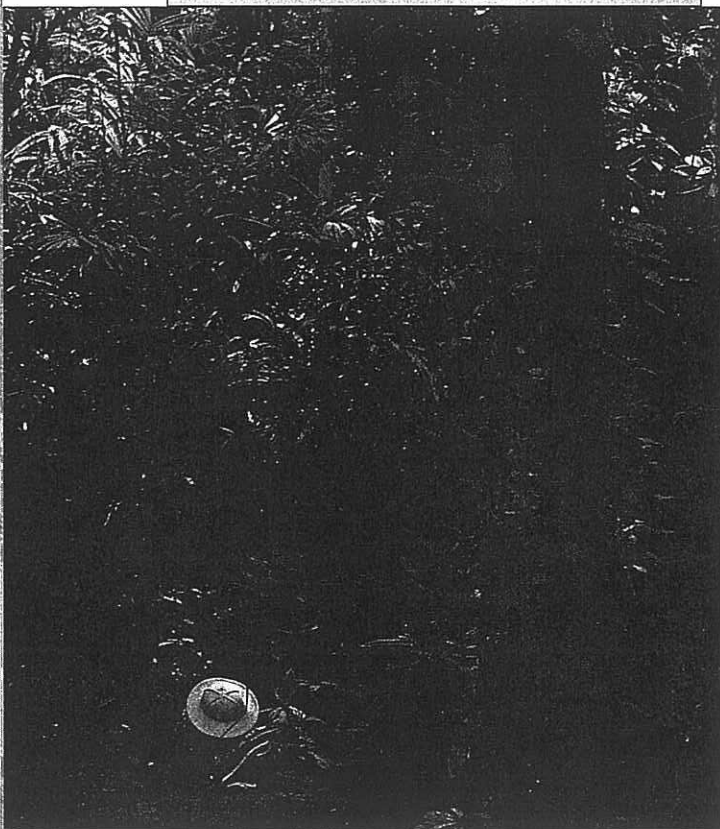


coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Between them lies the Central Plateau. Mountains and highlands also cover most of Central America. Many Caribbean islands also have rugged terrain.

Running the length of western South America are the snowcapped Andes Mountains. The towering Andes have dozens of peaks that rise more than 20,000 feet (6,096 m) high and are second in height only to the great mountain ranges in Asia. Other highlands are found in eastern South America. They include the Guiana Highlands in Venezuela and the Brazilian Highlands.

**Earthquakes and volcanoes.** Mountains have created problems for Latin America. The mountains along its western edge are part of the Ring of Fire that encircles the Pacific

**The Brazilian Rain Forest** A hiker moves through the world's largest rain forest, located in Brazil's Amazon Basin. The rain forest supports a variety of plants and animal life. It also has many resources, including valuable mahogany, cedar, rosewood, and rubber trees. **Environment** Why is the rain forest a difficult environment for humans?



Ocean. Along this ring, pressure builds up deep inside the Earth and causes frequent earthquakes and volcanoes. Some volcanoes explode almost without warning and rain destruction on nearby areas.

**Lowlands.** Lowlands are found along the coasts of Mexico, Central America, and South America. Most of these coastal plains are narrow. On the Pacific side of South America, for example, the Andes Mountains extend almost to the sea.

Several wide lowland areas lie in eastern South America, as you can see from the map on page 440. The largest of these is the great Amazon Basin. It occupies 40 percent of South America and has the world's largest rain forest. Another major lowland is the pampas, the grassy plains that stretch from Argentina into Uruguay. There, wheat farmers and cattle ranchers have created one of the most productive farming regions in Latin America.

**Regionalism.** Mountains, along with tropical forests in the lowlands, created barriers to the movement of people. These features limited contact among areas and contributed to regionalism, or strong local traditions that divide people within a country or region.

## Great Rivers

Because Middle America has a rugged landscape, it has few rivers wide enough or deep enough for ships to travel on. By contrast, South America has three major river systems that provide important transportation routes.

**The mighty Amazon.** Beginning in the snowy Andes Mountains in Peru, the mighty Amazon River flows eastward across Brazil. At least 1,100 tributaries pour into the Amazon on its 4,000-mile (6,437-km) journey to the Atlantic Ocean. Because the Amazon is both wide and deep, oceangoing ships can sail 1,000 miles (1,609 km) upriver, as far as Manaus, Brazil. Smaller vessels carry cargoes as far as Iquitos, Peru, which is 2,300 miles (3,701 km) from the mouth of the Amazon.

Until the 1950s, few people lived along the river. The hot, humid climate as well as

seasonal flooding and thick vegetation made settlement difficult. Since then, many settlers have moved into the region to develop its rich resources. Today, ships haul lumber, minerals, and livestock along the Amazon from the interior to the coast.

**Orinoco.** In northern South America lies the Orinoco (or uh NOH koh) River. It starts in the Guiana Highlands and flows northward through Venezuela to the Atlantic Ocean. Like the Amazon, the Orinoco carves a path through rain forests and open plains. Freighters on the Orinoco carry iron ore, bauxite, and forest products to the Atlantic and then to overseas markets.

**Río de la Plata.** The Río de la Plata (REE oh deh lah PLAH tah), or River of Silver, forms the border between Uruguay and Argentina. Fed by several rivers in the interior, the Río de la Plata serves as a major shipping route. Farmers and ranchers on the pampas use the waterway to send grain, meat, and hides to markets around the world. Buenos Aires, at the mouth of the river, has become the world's second-busiest port.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Rio Grande, (b) Cape Horn, (c) South America, (d) Caribbean Sea, (e) Andes Mountains.
- 2. Define:** (a) pampas, (b) regionalism.
- 3.** (a) What are the two main subregions of Latin America? (b) What areas are included in Middle America?
- 4.** (a) Name two landforms found in Latin America. (b) How have landforms contributed to regionalism?
- 5.** (a) What are three major river systems in South America? (b) List two products that people ship on each river.
- 6. Applying Ideas** (a) Why is Latin America called a cultural region? (b) What physical regions does it include?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** List two geographic features that the United States shares with Latin America. Write a paragraph describing each feature.

## 2

# CLIMATES AND PEOPLE

### FIND OUT

Why does Latin America have many different climates?

What are the chief resources of Latin America?

What ethnic groups have contributed to the culture of Latin America?

How has geography affected population patterns in Latin America?

**Vocabulary** tierra caliente, tierra templada, tierra fría, mestizo

**W**aves thunder against the Pacific shore of northern Chile. Nearby lies the Atacama Desert, one of the driest places on Earth. In some parts of the desert no rain has fallen for 400 years. A few areas get as much as half an inch of rain each year.

The long, narrow Atacama Desert lies between the Andes Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. The Andes are one reason for the extreme dryness of the Atacama, as you will read.

### Varied Climates

If you walked the 5,500-mile (8,851-km) length of Latin America, you would pass through many climate zones, ranging from lush tropical rain forests to frozen wastelands not far from Antarctica. Factors affecting the climates of Latin America are distance from the Equator, elevation, wind patterns, and ocean currents.

**Tropical climates.** Three fourths of Latin America lies in the tropics. Within the tropics, climates vary greatly. Some areas have a tropical wet climate. They include the Amazon Basin, some Caribbean islands, and parts of Central America. There, warm temperatures and plenty of rainfall all year support huge rain forests.

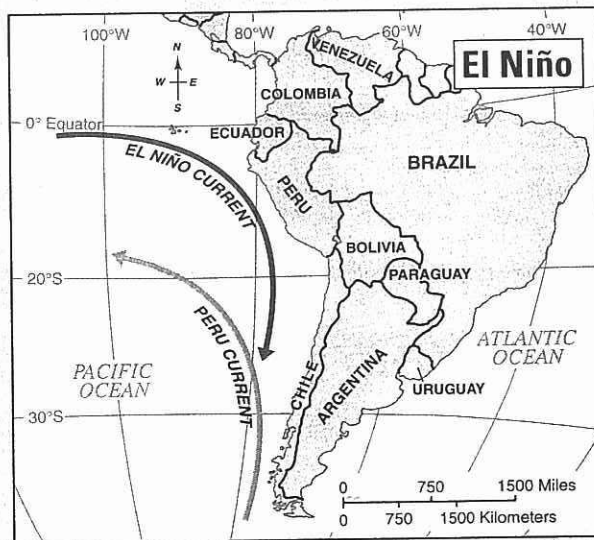


## El Niño Strikes

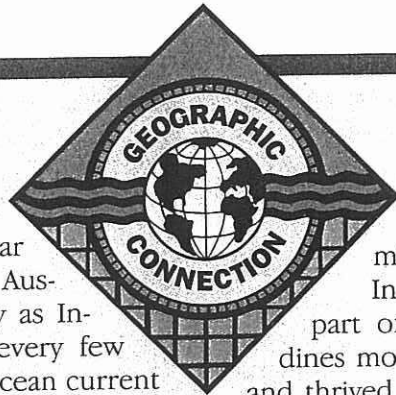
Who would believe that a change in an ocean current near Peru could cause drought in Australia and flooding as far away as India? Yet these events occur every few years when the warm Pacific Ocean current called *El Niño* strikes.

Normally, the cool Peru current flows northwestward along the Peruvian coast. The cool surface water is a good environment for many plants on which small fish, such as anchovies, feed. The abundance of fish benefits Peru's fishing industry.

Every few years, a current of warm water flows south from the Equator, forcing the Peru current to the west. This change in ocean current usually occurs close to Christmas. As a result, the warm current is known as *El Niño*, Spanish for "the Christ child."

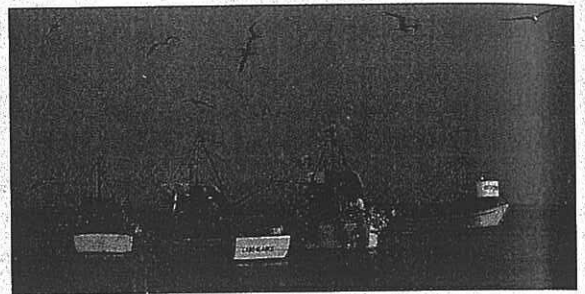


Much of tropical Latin America, however, has a wet and dry climate. In these areas, temperatures are warm all year, but half of the year is rainy while the other half is dry. A tropical wet and dry climate is found in the lowlands of Mexico, as well as in western Central America and southern Brazil.



*El Niño* can bring disaster. The warm waters of *El Niño* kill the small plants on which the fish feed. The fish either die or migrate to other areas.

In 1972, *El Niño* destroyed a large part of the anchovy population. Sardines moved in to replace the anchovies and thrived for 10 years. In 1982, however, *El Niño* began to affect the sardines as well. The fishing industry of Peru suffered greatly.



*El Niño* also leads to drastic changes in the weather. Coastal Peru usually gets 1 to 5 inches (2.5 to 12.5 cm) of rain each year. When *El Niño* arrives, as much as 12 feet (3.6 m) of rainfall may result in some areas. The downpours erode land, wash away homes and roads, and kill hundreds of people.

In 1997 and 1998, *El Niño* caused droughts and wildfires in Indonesia and monsoons and cyclones in Madagascar. In the United States, record rainfall led to mudslides and flash floods. *El Niño* may strike at Christmas, but it is no gift.

1. What is *El Niño*?
2. **Solving Problems** Why are scientists trying to learn more about *El Niño*?

**Temperate climates.** Several regions have temperate climates, as you can see from the Atlas map on page 778. Paraguay, Uruguay, and northern Argentina have a humid subtropical climate. There, a warm season alternates with a cool season, much as in South Carolina or Georgia in the United States. The

grasslands of this region provide excellent grazing for livestock, as well as good farmland.

**Dry climates.** Parts of Latin America have dry climates. Northern Mexico and part of Argentina have a semiarid climate. Very light rainfall throughout the year allows some grasses to grow in these dry areas.

Bordering these semiarid areas are deserts. The Baja Peninsula of northwestern Mexico is a sunbaked desert. The windswept Patagonian Plateau at the tip of South America receives barely enough moisture to support stunted trees and scattered grasses. Neither of these areas is as dry as Chile's Atacama Desert, however.

The extreme dryness of the Atacama is due in part to the "rain shadow" created by the Andes. Winds blow west from the Atlantic across South America, dropping their moisture as they reach the Andes. As a result, the eastern slopes of the Andes and the Amazon Basin receive drenching rains. The western side of the Andes, however, remains very dry.

Ocean currents also affect the Atacama. Warm winds that blow east from the Pacific Ocean pass over the icy Peru current, which runs up the west coast of South America. These winds drop their moisture at sea, so only dry winds reach the land.

## Elevation and Climate

In much of Latin America, the chief influence on climate is elevation above sea level. Within a single country, the climate can vary enormously, depending on whether you are in the lowlands or the highlands. People in Latin America have their own terms for these variations in climate.

Closest to sea level is the *tierra caliente*, or hot land. Lowlands such as the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico and the Amazon Basin are located in the *tierra caliente*. In these regions, tropical crops such as bananas and sugarcane flourish.

The next zone, the *tierra templada*, or temperate land, includes areas that lie above 3,000 feet (914 m). There, the days are hot, but the nights are cool. The Central Plateau and the valleys in the Andes are part of the *tierra templada*. Many cities are also found in

this temperate zone. Coffee and tobacco thrive at this altitude.

The third zone is the *tierra fría*, or cold land. This zone includes highlands that are at least 6,000 feet (1,829 m) above sea level. There, nighttime and winter temperatures can be quite cool. Major cities such as Mexico City and Bogotá lie in the *tierra fría*. Farmers who live in this zone grow wheat, barley, and potatoes.

## Natural Resources

Parts of Latin America are rich in natural resources. Some of its countries have valuable mineral or agricultural resources. Others, especially the islands of the Caribbean, have relatively few resources. Most Latin Americans have not benefited from the vast resources of Latin America. As you will read, the Spanish, and later the wealthy ruling groups, exploited these resources in order to promote their own interests.

**Minerals.** Gold and silver are the minerals that lured many Europeans to the Americas. Today, Brazil, Mexico, and Peru are still producing large quantities of these precious metals.

Latin America has other minerals, too. Chile is the world's leading producer of copper. In Bolivia, miners extract huge amounts of tin each year. Jamaica, Guyana, and Suriname have major deposits of bauxite, the clay-like ore from which aluminum is extracted.

**Energy resources.** Some Latin American countries have abundant supplies of oil and natural gas. Mexico and Venezuela have experienced the "boom and bust" of rising and falling oil prices. Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru also have large oil deposits.

In parts of Latin America, heavy rains fill rivers that cascade down from the highlands. Countries from Mexico to Paraguay have harnessed the force of these rivers to produce hydroelectric power. Brazil, for example, has seven of the world's largest hydroelectric plants.

**Agricultural resources.** The economies of many Latin American countries depend on the export of cash crops such as bananas, sugar, tobacco, coffee, and rubber. In addition, the rain forests of Brazil and Central America provide the world with valuable lumber.



**Problems of economic dependence.** The export of farm products and minerals has contributed to economic dependence in Latin America. Countries that rely on single crops or goods are at the mercy of world demand. Also, natural disasters such as hurricanes and frost can destroy an entire harvest. Since the 1950s, Latin American countries have worked to achieve greater independence by diversifying their economies.

### Peoples of Latin America

In Guatemalan villages, many children speak their local Indian language before they learn Spanish. In Buenos Aires, people speak Spanish with an Italian accent, a reminder of the millions of Italians who settled in Argentina. In Brazil and the Caribbean, people tell folktales based on stories brought from Africa. These facts suggest the variety of people who live in Latin America and have contributed to the cultures of this region.

**Native Americans.** Before Christopher Columbus reached the Americas, about 80 million Native Americans lived in the Western Hemisphere. They spoke a variety of languages and had many different cultures. Some lived in large cities. Others were farmers or hunters and food gatherers. Although the arrival of Europeans led to the death of millions of Native Americans, their cultures survived in many parts of Latin America.

**Europeans and Asians.** After 1492, Europeans began to settle in Latin America. They included Spanish and Portuguese as well as French, Dutch, and English settlers. Many Spanish and Portuguese settlers married

Native Americans. Their children formed a new ethnic group called *mestizos*, people of mixed European and Native American ancestry.

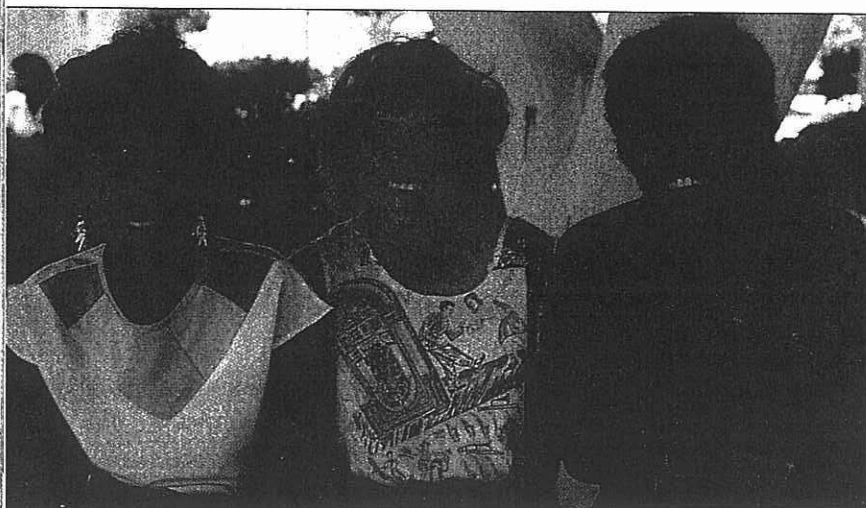
During the 1800s, thousands of Asians settled in Latin America. They included Indians and Chinese who took jobs on plantations after the abolition, or end, of slavery. During the same period, European immigrants flocked into Latin America, as they did to the United States. Many Italians went to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile. Germans, British, and other Europeans settled elsewhere in South America.

**Africans.** Many people in Latin America trace their roots to Africa. Between about 1500 and 1800, slave traders carried millions of Africans to the Americas. Africans were forced to work as slaves on plantations and in mines in the Caribbean, Brazil, and elsewhere.

**Ethnic and cultural mix.** Latin American countries have a mixture of ethnic groups. In some countries, such as Mexico, Chile, and Colombia, most of the people are *mestizos*. Guatemala, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador all have a large population of Native Americans. Many Brazilians, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Jamaicans have African ancestors, while large numbers of people of European background live in Costa Rica, Argentina, and Uruguay.

### Population Patterns

Geography has influenced where people in Latin America live. A few areas are densely populated, while many others are sparsely settled. Few people can live in the rugged mountains, deserts, or rain forests because



**Lunch Break at Ponce** Students in Ponce, Puerto Rico's third-largest city, pose for their picture. Their faces suggest Latin America's ethnic diversity. The facial features and skin color of the population reflect Native American, European, and African backgrounds.

**Diversity** What ethnic group in Latin America has both European and Native American ancestry? In which nations does this group make up the majority?


## SECTION 2 REVIEW

these areas are so unfavorable to farming. Instead, people are concentrated in temperate highland areas and along the coastal plains. In Brazil, for example, the largest cities are Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo on the coast. The area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Andes Mountains has few cities. In the 1950s, the government of Brazil tried to open up the interior by building a new capital city at Brasília. (See the feature on page 6.)

**Limited farmland.** Climate and rugged terrain do more than limit where people live. They severely limit the amount of arable land that is available. Only about 6 percent of Latin America is suitable for farming, compared with 20 percent of the United States.

Through irrigation, however, people in Latin America have created farmland in desert areas. Mexico has built water projects that now make it possible to channel water from mountain streams to the northern desert. In these irrigated desert lands, farmers produce crops of cotton, wheat, and vegetables.

In Central America and Brazil, developers have cleared the rain forests to open up new farmland. The soil in the rain forests, however, is not very fertile. These cleared lands support crops for only a few years before they wear out, forcing farmers to move on. As in tropical Africa, leaching and erosion damage the land.

**Difficult communication.** Landforms and climate have limited contact between people in coastal areas and the interior. During colonial times, cities such as Buenos Aires had closer ties to Spain, across the Atlantic, than to the interior of Argentina. (  See Connections With Literature, page 806, "The Handsomest Drowned Man in the World.")

Differences in culture also contributed to the gap between coastal cities and the interior. Often, the interior was a stronghold of Native American or mestizo cultures, in contrast to the European culture of the cities.

Today, radio, television, telephones, and air travel link cities and rural areas in a way that was not possible in the past. Despite the changes brought by modernization, differences between urban and rural areas are greater in Latin America than in countries such as the United States.

1. **Locate:** (a) Atacama Desert, (b) Yucatán Peninsula, (c) Buenos Aires, (d) Rio de Janeiro.
2. **Define:** (a) tierra caliente, (b) tierra templada, (c) tierra fría, (d) mestizo.
3. Name one area of Latin America that is in each of the climate zones created by elevation.
4. What resources are important to Latin America?
5. Give two examples of how geography has affected where people live in Latin America.
6. **Synthesizing** Why are few major cities located in the interior of Brazil between the Atlantic Ocean and the Andes Mountains?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a dialogue in which students discuss the similarities between the peoples of Latin America and the peoples of the United States.

### 3

## EARLY CIVILIZATIONS

### FIND OUT

What early civilizations developed in the Americas?

What were the major achievements of these civilizations?

How did the arrival of Europeans affect the first American civilizations?

**Vocabulary** maize, quipu, conquistador

**T**he desperate inhabitants of the parched lands of northern Mexico struggled to survive. Over several centuries, these people, later known as the Aztecs, slowly moved southward onto the Central Plateau. In 1325, according to legend, the Aztec god Uitzilopochtli (wee tsee loh POUCH tlee) told the



people where to settle: "Search until you find this sign—an eagle perched atop a cactus holding a snake in its beak."

Soon afterward, the Aztecs found the sign on an island in Lake Texcoco. There, they built the city of Tenochtitlán (tay nawch tee TLAHN). Today, Mexico City stands on the spot where the Aztec capital once flourished. The eagle, snake, and cactus have become the national symbols of Mexico, as shown in the Mexican flag.

The Aztecs were one of many Native American civilizations that emerged in what is today Latin America. Like people everywhere, they built on the successes of earlier civilizations.

### The First Americans

Thousands of years before the Aztecs built Tenochtitlán, nomadic people migrated from Asia into North America. During the last Ice Age, huge glaciers froze so much water that ocean levels dropped, exposing a land bridge that connected Siberia to Alaska. The first people to cross that land bridge may have reached the Americas about 50,000 years ago. Slowly, some groups moved southward into Central America and South America. In time, they reached the southern tip of South America.

The earliest Americans lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants. About 5,000 years ago, however, people in Mexico began to farm. They grew maize, or corn, and planted other crops such as beans and squash. As in other parts of the world, farming allowed people to give up their nomadic way of life and settle in villages. As farming methods improved, people in some areas produced the food surpluses that were needed to support advanced civilizations.

### Maya Cities

“ Their books were written on large sheets of paper doubled in folds, which were enclosed entirely between boards which they decorated, and they wrote on both sides in columns following the order of the folds. And they made this paper from the roots of a tree. ”

A Spanish priest wrote that description of the books kept by the ancient Mayas. Writing, books, and paper were a few of the remarkable achievements of the Mayas. By the time the Spanish reached the Americas, Maya civilization was more than 2,000 years old.

The ancient Mayas lived in the dense, lowland rain forests of Central America. Between about A.D. 300 and A.D. 900, their civilization reached its peak. Prosperous Maya cities ruled the lands from the Yucatán Peninsula to what is today Guatemala. A network of roads linked cities such as Tikal (tee KAHL) in Guatemala and Palenque (puh LEHN kay) in Mexico. Merchants did a brisk trade carrying goods, such as cotton cloth and ornate gold jewelry, from one city to another. They shipped other goods to distant lands in oceangoing canoes.

**Farming.** How did these cities thrive in the difficult tropical environment? Scientists have only recently learned how the Mayas developed complex farming methods to produce enough food to support city life.

In low-lying areas, Maya farmers cleared the dense forests and then built raised fields for crops. These platforms caught and held rainwater. If too much rain fell, farmers opened channels to drain the fields. The system worked so well that farmers produced corn and other crops to feed themselves plus a surplus to feed cities that had as many as 20,000 people.

**Government and society.** Trade, language, and a common culture linked the Mayas, although they had no single, unified empire. Instead, each Maya city-state had its own king, who was the most important military and religious leader. Below him, nobles and priests helped to govern the city. Artisans and merchants were next in the social order. They supplied the ruling class with fine cloth, gold ornaments, and feathered cloaks, and benefited from trade with other city-states.

The largest group of people included peasants and laborers. They grew food and hauled stone to build splendid temples and palaces. At the lowest level of Maya society were slaves, usually people captured in war or criminals.

**Religion.** Like other ancient peoples, the Mayas believed that gods controlled the powerful forces of nature. Each day, priests performed the rituals they believed would please the gods. Without those ceremonies, the gods might send storms, drought, or other disasters.

At the center of Maya cities were huge pyramid-temples built to honor different gods. Some pyramids towered 20 stories above the ground. On the walls of the temples, artists painted brilliantly colored murals. These scenes recorded historical events or told ancient legends. Surrounding the temples were the stone palaces of priests and nobles.

Maya cities had a large rectangular stone court that was used for a ball game called pok-a-tok. Like modern basketball, the game involved sending a ball through a hoop. Unlike basketball, the ball was about the size of a softball, and the hoop was set vertically 30 feet (9 m) above the ground. Also, players were not allowed to use their hands to catch or throw the ball. Ordinary people played the game for fun. When nobles played the game, however, it took on religious meaning. Priests then watched the game carefully, believing that the gods sent messages by allowing one side or another to win.

## Maya Achievements

The magnificent buildings the Mayas erected are proof of their great skills in architecture. The Mayas also left evidence of many other achievements. Maya priests developed a system of writing, using hieroglyphics. Scholars are just beginning to decipher Maya "glyphs." Most glyphs carved on temples and stone pillars seem to concern religious and historical events.

Maya priests made important advances in the sciences. Priest-astronomers studied the sky in order to measure the passage of time. As in other ancient societies, the priests needed to know when they should tell peasants to plant and harvest crops.

Based on careful observation and years of records, the priests developed a  $365\frac{1}{4}$ -day

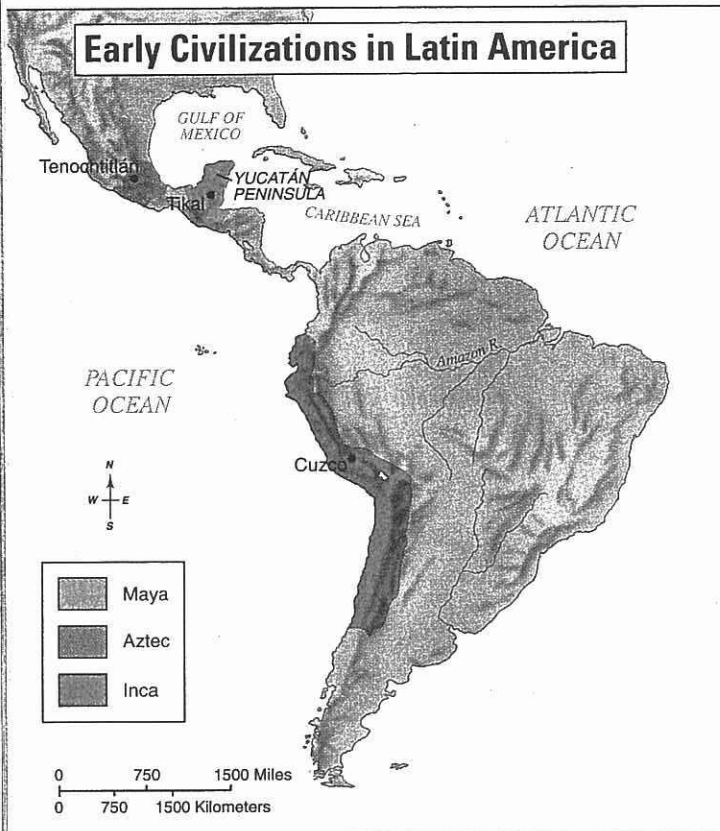


**Maya Warriors** This wall painting on a Maya temple shows warriors in combat using deadly sharp knives and spears. Other wall paintings show the bright colors of clothing worn by the Mayas and their fine ornaments made of feathers, gold, copper, and jade. **Fine Art** How do wall paintings help us learn about early civilizations?

calendar—the most accurate calendar in the world at the time. From their study of the stars, the priests also developed complex mathematics. They learned to use zero, a breakthrough that allowed them to express numbers of any size.

Maya cities began to decline in about 800. Historians do not know why this happened. Disease or war may have weakened Maya society. Some experts think that high taxes may have led peasants to rebel against their rulers. By 900, most people had abandoned the cities, but Maya culture survived and influenced other people, from Central America to Mexico.





### MAP STUDY

Several great civilizations developed in Latin America. These early civilizations were established in South America, Central America, and Mexico.

- 1. Location** (a) Which early Native American empire was located in the Yucatan Peninsula? (b) What was its capital city?
- 2. Interaction** Among which Native American cultures would you expect to find the most similarities? Explain
- 3. Analyzing Information** What challenges might the Incas have faced in keeping their empire united?

## The Aztec Empire

Long after the Maya cities had declined, the Aztecs built an advanced civilization to the north and west of Maya lands. The Aztecs moved into the Central Plateau of Mexico in about 1200. There, they came into contact with people like the Toltecs, who had absorbed ideas from the Mayas. From the Toltecs, the Aztecs learned to build pyramid-

temples and indirectly absorbed other ideas from the Mayas.

**Government.** After settling in Tenochtitlán, the Aztecs embarked on a course of conquest. Unlike the Maya city-states, each of which had its own king, the Aztecs had only one ruler. He was chosen by a small group of priests, nobles, and warriors. With their help, the Aztec ruler gained control of a vast territory.

By about 1450, Aztec warriors began to attack and defeat the city-states that bordered Tenochtitlán. When the Aztecs defeated a nation, they left its rulers in place. However, the defeated nation had to pay tribute to the Aztecs in the form of maize, tobacco, gold, precious stones, and jaguar skins. By 1500, the Aztecs were collecting tribute from about 500 city-states.

As the Aztecs expanded, they took thousands of prisoners of war. They kept some captives as slaves, but they sacrificed many others to their god of war. The Aztecs believed that their success in war depended on such human sacrifices. The slaughter of captives made the Aztecs feared and hated throughout Mexico.

**Religion.** Like the Mayas, the Aztecs worshipped many gods. Priests had a powerful place in Aztec society. Priests were the guardians of the many huge temples in Tenochtitlán. Only they could perform the rituals that were thought to please the gods. They also recorded knowledge of science, mathematics, and medicine in books.

Among the chief Aztec gods was Quetzalcoatl (keht suhl koh AHT l), who they believed had brought maize to the Earth. According to legend, Quetzalcoatl had once taken human form and ruled the land. Then, disaster struck his kingdom, and this light-skinned, bearded ruler was banished. As he sailed off into the "eastern sea," he vowed to return one day. The legend of Quetzalcoatl would have tragic consequences for the Aztecs, as you will read.

**Tenochtitlán.** At the heart of the Aztec empire was the bustling city of Tenochtitlán. By 1500, it was home to 150,000 people, making it the largest city in the world at the time. To provide food, the Aztecs developed ways to farm the swampy land of Lake Texcoco.

Farmers filled large reed rafts with earth and anchored them in the lake bed. On these small floating islands, or *chinampas*, they planted their crops.

In Tenochtitlán's busy central market, merchants sold goods from all over the empire. A Spanish soldier described the many activities of the market:

“ There is an orderly arrangement of wares so that each kind is sold separately in its proper place. . . . [Here] they sell mantles and various kinds of men's dress, while women's dresses are sold elsewhere. There is a place for the sale of shoes, another for tanned deer hides. . . . Cotton is sold in yet another place, and grain here and bread there, of various kinds. ”

**Education.** The Aztecs were among the first people to educate both boys and girls. Aztec children studied civics, history, and religion. To prepare for their future, boys received training in the arts of war. Girls stud-

ied homemaking skills and learned herbal medicine.

**Women.** Aztec women had certain rights. A woman could own property, and she could remarry if her husband died. Some women became priestesses, weavers, musicians, and midwives. Most of them spent their days at the time-consuming tasks of preparing food and making clothing for the family. One father's advice to his daughter shows what was expected of an Aztec woman:

“ How will you fulfill your womanly duties? Will you not prepare the food, the drink? Will you not spin and weave? Look well how are the food and drink, how they are made, that they should be good, know how good food and drink are prepared. ”

## The Inca Empire

Far to the south of the Aztec Empire lay the powerful Inca civilization. From their capital at Cuzco, the Incas built a vast empire in the fertile valleys of the Andes. Like the

**Aztec Education** Pictures in an Aztec book show how the Aztecs taught their children. At left, a father teaches his son how to gather firewood, canoe, and fish. The mother, at right, instructs her daughter in grinding grain and weaving cloth.  
**Technology** What items of Aztec technology are shown here?





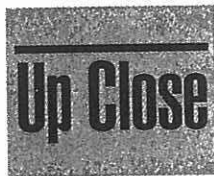
Aztecs, the Incas acquired skills and learning from earlier peoples in the area. By the late 1400s, the Inca Empire stretched 2,500 miles (4,023 km) across what is today Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile.

**Farming.** The Incas were able to feed a population of 9 million people in part because they developed skilled farming methods. From earlier civilizations in the region, they learned to build complex irrigation systems that channeled water from mountain streams into the dry lowlands. They created farmland by carving terraces on steep mountainsides. By using fertilizer, they produced huge crops of corn, potatoes, and beans. Modern scientists have studied Inca farming methods to improve crop production today.

**Religion.** Like the Mayas and the Aztecs, the Incas worshipped many gods. Chief among them was the sun god. In fact, the word Inca means "children of the sun." The Inca royal family claimed to be descended from the sun god.

The center of Inca worship was the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco. Sheets of gold covered the temple walls, flaming in the Andean sun. To the Incas, gold was "the sweat of the gods." Priests and priestesses performed ceremonies to honor the sun god.

**Government.** The Inca emperor owned all the land, mines, and wealth of the empire. He ruled with the aid of nobles and priests. Officials told the people where to live and what jobs to do. They assigned plots of land to peasants to farm and collected taxes on peasants' crops. The smooth running of the empire also depended on an elaborate communications network.



### The Efficient Incas

A young Inca crouched by the side of a mountain road. Let us call him Cusi Puma.

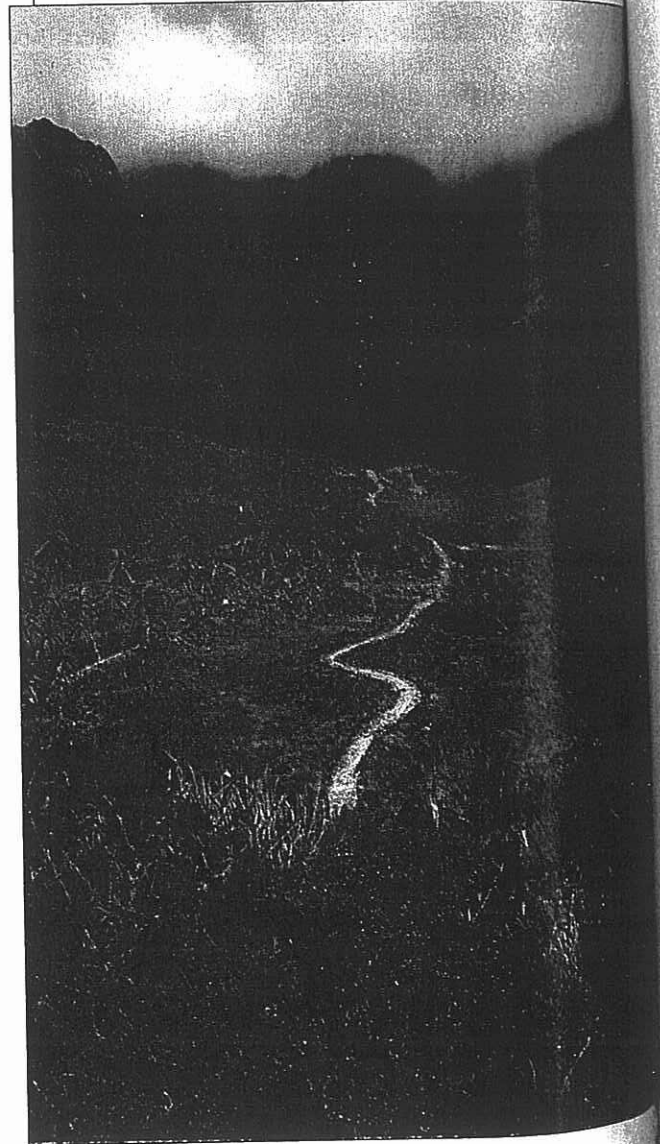
His body was tense as he watched a point 100 yards (91 m) down the road. There, the highway disappeared over a ridge.

The young man was a *chasqui*, or runner. Assigned to this stretch of the highway, he

was one of hundreds of messengers who helped to carry news across the Inca Empire.

To keep order in their empire, the Incas improved and extended the network of roads built by earlier people. The roads provided a

**An Inca Highway** A winding road crosses a small valley high in the Andes. The mountain highways of the Inca Empire stretched thousands of miles from north to south. To construct these roads, Inca engineers cut steps into steep mountainsides. They also used rope cables to build bridges across deep gorges. **Power** Why did the Incas need this vast network of roads?



route for armies and messengers. Pedro Cieza de León, a Spanish soldier and writer of the time, marveled at one of these Inca roads:

“It passes over deep valleys and lofty mountains by snowy heights, over falls of water, through living rocks and edges of tortuous currents. In all these places, it is level and paved, along mountain slopes well excavated, by the mountains well terraced . . . along the river bank supported by walls, in the snowy heights with steps and resting places.”

Cusi Puma's job began the moment another chasqui appeared on the road. He would dash out to meet him. Falling in stride alongside the tired runner, he would memorize the message he was given. Sometimes the messenger had to carry a quipu, or knotted string, to the next chasqui. The Incas, lacking a system of writing, used the quipu to keep records and accounts of such things as the size of a harvest.

With a fresh burst of speed, the young runner would race off, following the road as it zigzagged uphill. After three miles, the runner reached the next relay stop. There, he would pass the message on to another chasqui.

Through this efficient system of relays, a message could travel as far as 200 miles (322 km) a day. If a revolt occurred in one part of the empire, the ruler would learn of it quickly and send his armies to crush the rebels. Officials, too, used the roads for business, but the common people could not. ■

## The Great Empires Fall

Both the Inca and the Aztec empires reached the peak of their power in about 1500. By then, Columbus had claimed the islands of the Caribbean and the nearby mainland for Spain.

Within a few years, conquistadors, or Spanish conquerors, were following Columbus to the Americas. They fanned out across Middle America and South America, hunting for the gold kingdoms that rumor described.

“We came here to serve God and the king, and also to get rich,” declared one conquistador about his motives for going to the Americas. Many Catholic priests went with the Spanish to the Americas. Once on shore, they set out to convert the Native Americans they found there to Christianity.

**Cortés in Mexico.** Hernando Cortés (kor TEHZ) landed on the coast of Mexico in 1519. As soon as he heard about the fabulous riches of the Aztec Empire, he made a daring plan to conquer it. With about 600 men, 16 horses, and 14 cannons, he marched on Tenochtitlán. Within two years, the Spanish destroyed the powerful Aztec Empire. How did a tiny Spanish force defeat the Aztecs?

Many factors helped Cortés. First, the Aztec emperor, Moctezuma (mok tuh zoo muh), hesitated to fight the Spanish. He believed that Cortés was the god-king Quetzalcoatl, returning as he had promised he would. Second, Cortés won allies among the people the Aztecs had conquered. Their armies strengthened the Spanish forces. Third, smallpox and other diseases that Europeans brought to the Americas killed thousands of Aztecs.

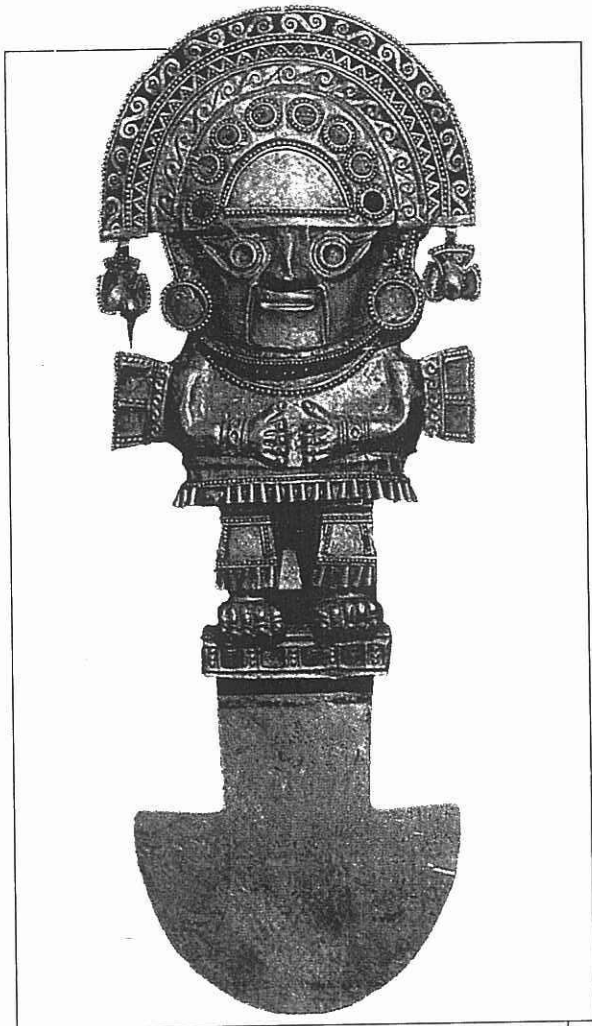
In addition, the Spanish rode horses, animals the Aztecs had never seen before. These strange animals terrified many Aztec soldiers. The metal armor, muskets, and cannons of the Spanish only increased the Aztecs' fears.

**Pizarro in Peru.** Similar events soon took place in South America. Like Cortés in Mexico, Francisco Pizarro had heard rumors of the great wealth of the Inca Empire. In 1532, he landed on the coast of Peru. There, Pizarro learned that the Incas had just emerged from a terrible civil war. Although the emperor Atahualpa (ah tah WAHL pah) retained his power, the fighting had weakened the empire.

Once again, a handful of Spanish soldiers riding horses and armed with muskets spread terror among the Indian armies. Disease, too, killed many of those who might have fought the invaders.

Pizarro used trickery to capture Atahualpa. The Inca emperor then offered to buy his freedom by filling a room with gold treasure.





**Gold Ceremonial Weapon** A gold-and-turquoise Inca knife is one of the few early Native American art objects that survived the Spanish conquest. Priceless works of art, such as golden ears of corn in silver baskets, were seized by Cortés and his army and destroyed. **Fine Art** Why did the Spanish melt down many gold and silver art objects?

Pizarro agreed to this, but then seized the treasure and murdered Atahualpa. Without a strong leader, organized Inca resistance faltered. By 1535, Pizarro controlled the vast Inca Empire.

### Resistance and Survival

Intent on gaining riches and converting the Native Americans, Spanish soldiers and

priests destroyed much of the material wealth of Native American cultures. The invaders melted down gold and silver objects of great beauty. They burned books and smashed sculptures and temples. Only a few ornaments and manuscripts survived the destruction.

Throughout the Americas, Native Americans fought against the invaders. Even after the Spanish completed their conquest, rebellions were frequent. Among the most famous was the 1780 uprising led by Tupac Amaru II, a descendant of the last Inca emperor.

Native Americans who survived the conquest preserved much of their cultural heritage. Today, millions of people in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia speak Quechua, the language of the Incas. In Guatemala and Mexico, Indian groups speak many languages that are of Maya origin. Temples, pyramids, and terraced hillsides stand today as evidence of the great Native American civilizations.

## SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Tenochtitlán, (b) Tikal, (c) Cuzco.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Quetzalcoatl, (b) Hernando Cortés, (c) Moctezuma, (d) Francisco Pizarro, (e) Atahualpa.
- 3. Define:** (a) maize, (b) quipu, (c) conquistador.
- 4.** (a) What three civilizations developed in the Americas? (b) Where was each located?
- 5.** Describe two achievements of each of the early American civilizations.
- 6.** Give three reasons why the Spanish were able to defeat the Aztecs and the Incas.
- 7. Linking Past and Present** "As long as the world may endure, the fame and glory of Tenochtitlán will never perish," claimed an Aztec carving. Do you agree with this statement? Explain.
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a brief paragraph comparing the purpose of roads in the Inca Empire with the purpose of roads in the United States.

# CHAPTER 20 REVIEW

## Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. pampas          | a. Spanish conqueror                                     |
| 2. regionalism     | b. hot land  |
| 3. tierra caliente | c. grassy plains south of the Amazon                     |
| 4. mestizo         | d. person of mixed Native American and European ancestry |
| 5. conquistador    | e. strong local traditions that divide people            |

## Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) Describe the location of Latin America. (b) How have the oceans affected Latin America?
- (a) List the three major river systems of Latin America. (b) Briefly describe the location and importance of each.
- Why is the Atacama Desert extremely dry?
- Identify the major mineral resources, energy resources, and agricultural resources of Latin America.
- How have people in Latin America created more farmland?
- (a) How did the Maya religion contribute to advances in science and mathematics? (b) What role did disease play in the conquest of the Aztecs and Incas?

## Reviewing Chapter Themes

- Latin America is a region of diverse physical features, climates, and cultures. Give one example of diversity for each of these.
- Geography has influenced population patterns in Latin America. Describe how physical features and climate have affected settlement in the region.
- Latin Americans come from a variety of ethnic groups. Briefly describe how and when three of these groups reached Latin America.
- In early times, three advanced civilizations emerged in the Americas. Briefly describe one of those civilizations.

## Thinking Critically

- Making Global Connections** How do the agricultural resources of Latin America link it to the rest of the world?
- Understanding Causes and Effects** How do you think the geography of Latin America has affected the following: (a) communication, (b) differences among cultures, (c) relations with other nations?
- Evaluating Information** (a) What subjects did Aztec children study? (b) Do you think Aztec education prepared children for their roles in society? Explain.
- Synthesizing Information** How did the Incas keep control over their vast empire?

## Applying Your Skills

- Outlining** Outline the subsection "Major Landforms" on pages 441–442. Make a generalization based on the outline.
- Identifying the Main Idea** Reread the paragraphs about Aztec government on page 450. List two main ideas from these paragraphs.
- Making a Review Chart** Make a chart that lists the names, dates, location, and achievements of the three major Native American civilizations of Latin America. (a) Which civilization was earliest? (b) Which civilization was located in Central America? (c) Which civilization created farmland by carving terraces on steep mountainsides?



## Chapter 21

# HERITAGE OF LATIN AMERICA



**A Country Church in Mexico** The Catholic Church spread Christianity throughout Latin America, where it won millions of converts. The Church played an important role in the lives of the people of Latin America, both under Spanish rule and after independence. **Culture** What other elements of Spanish culture were adapted by Native Americans and influenced how they lived?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Europe's Colonies in the Americas
- 2 Patterns of Life
- 3 Winning Independence
- 4 The New Republics

**I**n the pale light of dawn, an Aztec peasant named Juan Diego hurried along a dusty trail toward Mexico City. According to Diego's story, he suddenly heard a voice. Looking up, he saw the image of the Virgin Mary—a dark-skinned Native American woman—on Tepeyac Hill. “Go to the bishop of Mexico,” the vision said, “and tell him that I wish a church to be built on this spot.” Startled, Juan Diego did as he was told.

The year was 1531, only 10 years after Cortés had conquered Mexico. As word of Diego's story spread, Indians flocked to Tepeyac Hill. It was well known to them because a temple to the Aztec goddess Tonantsi had once stood there. The story of the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe led thousands of Aztecs to become Christians. Yet, when they prayed to her, they kept alive the spirit of their old religion. Some even called her Tonantsi.

The story of the Virgin of Guadalupe continues to inspire Christians. Each year, thousands of pilgrims visit the shrine.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

This story suggests the enormous power and influence that the Roman Catholic Church has had in Latin America. It also shows the blending of Spanish and Native American cultures. In time, that culture would reflect African traditions as well.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Spain and Portugal built rich empires in Latin America based on the labor of Native Americans and enslaved Africans.
- ▶ During the colonial period, a rigid class structure developed in which a privileged few controlled economic and political life.
- ▶ The Roman Catholic Church dominated life in Latin America and served as a unifying force.
- ▶ In the 1800s, Latin American countries won independence but many had trouble building stable governments.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

"The Fall of Tenochtitlán," Aztec poem  
*A General History of the Indies*,  
Bartolomé de las Casas

"Letter to the Bishop of Puebla," Sor  
Juana Inés de la Cruz

For other suggestions, see Connections  
With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

## EUROPE'S COLONIES IN THE AMERICAS

### FIND OUT

How did Spain and Portugal rule their empires in the Americas?

How did Europeans make their colonies profitable?

What were the effects of the Columbian exchange?

**Vocabulary** viceroy, cabildo, mercantilism, hacienda, donatario

A few years after Cortés captured Tenochtitlán, an Aztec poet wrote:

“How can we save our homes, my people?  
The Aztecs are deserting the city:  
the city is in flames, and all  
is darkness and destruction. . . .  
Weep, my people:  
know that with these disasters  
we have lost the Mexican nation.”

The Spanish conquest ushered in a new era in the Americas. New governments replaced the great Native American empires. A new culture also evolved, blending the traditions of the Americas, Europe, and Africa.

### Europeans Explore the Americas

By the late 1400s, Spain and Portugal were seeking an ocean route to Asia. While Portuguese explorers plotted a sea route around Africa, Christopher Columbus looked for a westward route across the Atlantic Ocean. He persuaded the rulers of Spain to pay for his voyage.

Columbus set sail on August 3, 1492, expecting to reach Asia within a few weeks.



When he sighted land on October 12, he was sure he had reached the East Indies off the coast of Asia. Columbus claimed the land for Spain. He called the people he met there Indians. However, Columbus had not reached the East Indies, but was in the islands of the Caribbean. Although Europeans soon realized Columbus's error, they continued to call the people of those islands Indians.

**Dividing up the world.** Columbus's voyage heightened tensions between Spain and Portugal. Both nations claimed the right to any lands they explored. To avoid war, they signed the Treaty of Tordesillas (tor day SEE yahs) in 1494. The treaty drew a Line of Demarcation that ran from north to south, about 1,100 miles (1,770 km) west of the Azores in the Atlantic. It gave Spain the right to claim all non-Christian lands west of the line. Portugal claimed lands east of the line.

**Spanish claims.** Under the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain claimed most of the Americas. Hundreds of explorers and conquistadors followed in the path of Columbus. They hunted for gold and for a sea route around or through the Americas to the riches of Asia. In doing so, they mapped vast areas of the Americas.

One Spanish explorer, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, led an expedition across the moun-

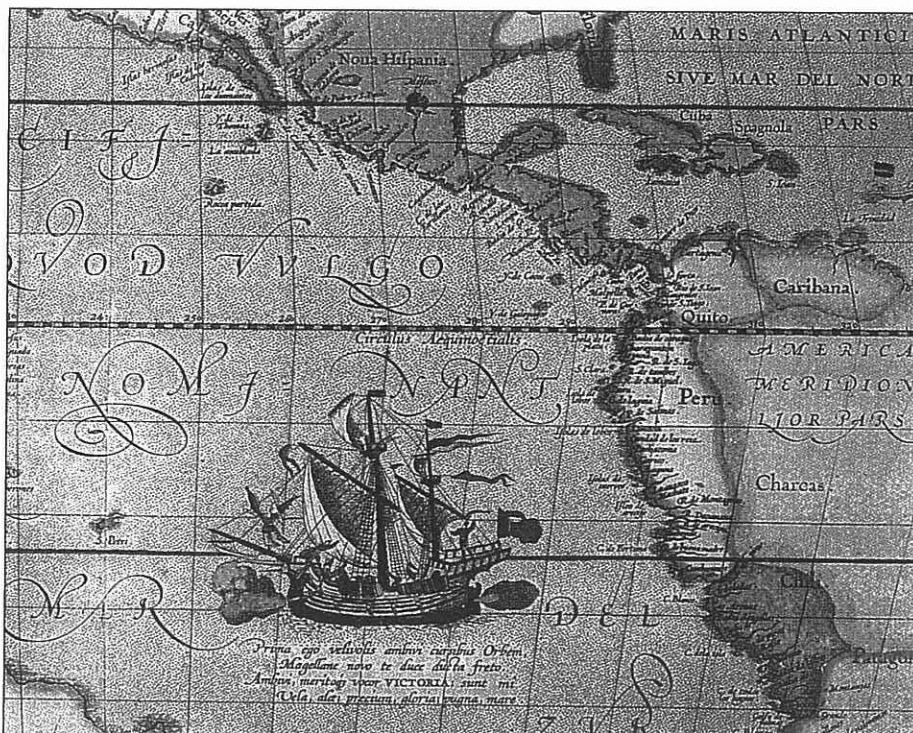
tains and jungles of Panama in 1513. Finally, Balboa reached a great body of water that he called the South Sea. Before long, another explorer, Ferdinand Magellan, renamed it the Pacific Ocean.

**Magellan.** In 1519, Magellan set out from the busy port of Seville, Spain, with 5 ships and 268 sailors. He hoped to find a passage around South America. After much hardship, he sailed around the stormy Cape Horn at the southern tip of the continent and into the Pacific Ocean. Magellan himself died fighting local people in the Philippines. In 1521, 18 sailors aboard one ship arrived back in Spain—the first Europeans to sail around the world.

Magellan's route around Cape Horn was too long and difficult to become a profitable trade route to Asia. By the 1530s, however, Spain was more interested in profiting from the enormous wealth of the Aztec and Inca empires.

**Other claims to the Americas.** Spain was not the only country to claim lands in the Americas. In 1500, Portuguese explorer Pedro Cabral landed on the east coast of South America in what is today Brazil. Because this land lay east of the Line of Demarcation, Cabral claimed it for Portugal.

During the 1500s and 1600s, French, English, and Dutch explorers tried to find a wa-



**A Remarkable Voyage** This map of the Americas was made in 1590 and notes Magellan's achievement in charting a route around the tip of South America. After reaching the Pacific, Magellan and his crew spent 98 days without touching land. After Magellan's death in the Philippines, the surviving crew members made their way to Spain. **Geography** How did Magellan's voyage succeed in achieving Columbus' goal?

ter passage through the Americas, connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. These nations soon challenged Spanish and Portuguese claims. For almost 300 years, European powers battled for control of the Americas. Some Caribbean islands, such as Hispaniola and Jamaica, passed back and forth between Spain and France or Britain.

## Spanish Rule in the Americas

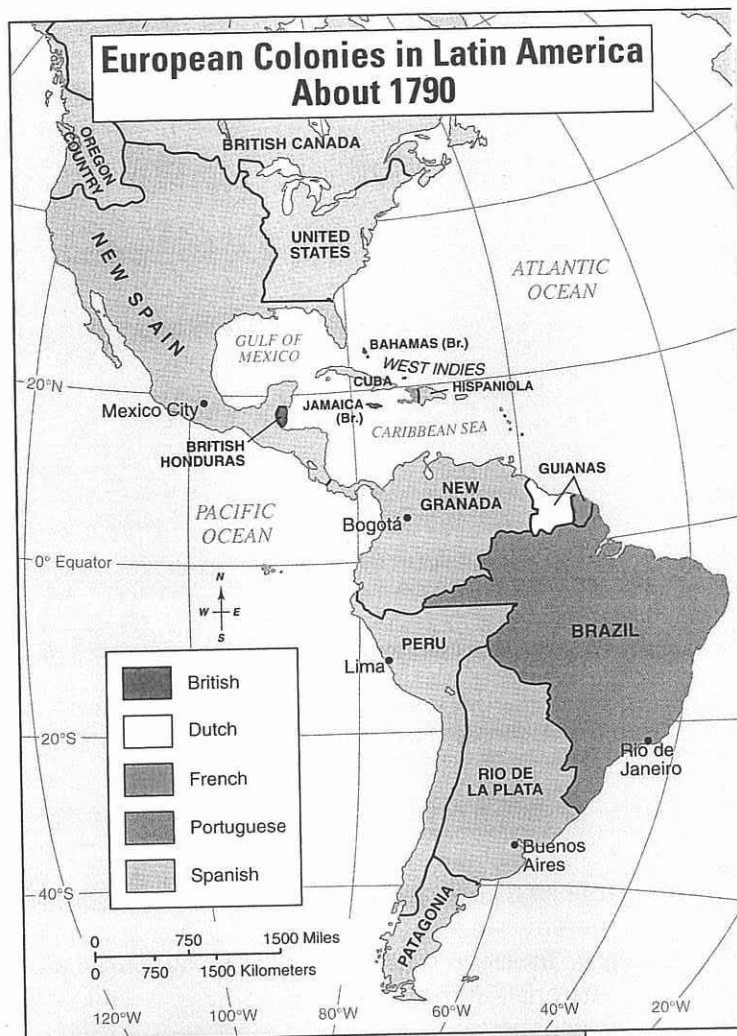
By the mid-1500s, Spain ruled an empire that extended from Mexico to Peru. At first, the king of Spain divided his huge empire into two kingdoms and appointed a viceroy to rule in each. A viceroy is an official who rules in place of a king. One viceroy ruled New Spain, which had its capital in Mexico City. The other viceroy ruled Peru, which had its capital in Lima.

In Spain, the king set up the Council of the Indies. This powerful council made all the laws for the colonies. It also regulated the Church, the courts, and trade with Spain's American empire. The viceroys carried out the laws made by the Council of the Indies. Through these laws, the Council transferred Spanish ideas about government, law, and justice to the Americas.

Most Spanish settlers lived in towns. Spain set up cabildos (cah BEEL dohz), or councils, to govern towns and their surrounding lands. Cabildos usually were made up of wealthy landowners. The cabildos punished criminals, sent troops to hunt runaway slaves, and set the price of bread and other items.

**Mercantilism.** Like other European countries, Spain believed that the purpose of colonies was to enrich the parent country. This belief was based on the principles of mercantilism. According to mercantilists, a country's economic strength depended on increasing its gold supply by exporting more goods than it imported.

Under mercantilism, colonies had two roles. They supplied the parent country with raw materials such as lumber, cotton, sugar, and precious metals. They also served as a market where the parent country sold its manufactured goods, such as furniture, clothing, and tools.



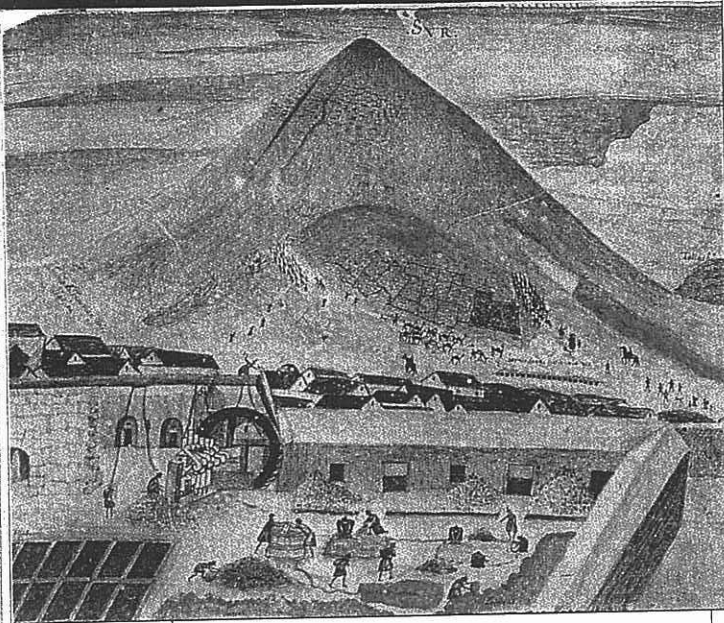
### MAP STUDY

In the 1500s, Spain and Portugal built empires in the Americas. This map shows European colonies in the late 1700s.

- Region** (a) Which European nation set up the largest empire in the Americas? (b) Name four of its colonies.
- Location** Which European nations had colonies in South America?
- Forecasting** Based on geography, what problems do you think European powers had ruling colonies in the Americas?

A colony could trade only with its parent country and was not allowed to manufacture finished goods. Thus, mercantilism made the colonies economically dependent on Spain for trade and manufactured goods. In return,





**Silver Mining in Bolivia** The Spanish founded the town of Potosí in the high Andes in the early 1500s. This sketch shows llamas carrying silver from the mines and Native American workers processing the ore. The Potosí mines were the world's richest source of silver for more than half a century. **Power** Why was silver mining important to Spain's mercantilist policy?

the colonies received protection from the parent country.

**Treasure from the Americas.** The first raw materials shipped from the Americas to Spain were the treasures of the Aztec and Inca empires. The conquistadors melted down tons of fine gold and silver jewelry and magnificent ornaments created by Aztec and Inca artisans. Each year, huge fleets set sail for Spain, loaded with bars of gold and silver. Pirates lurked in the sea lanes around the Caribbean, eager to seize these treasure ships.

The Spanish also forced the Indians to mine gold and silver. Mines such as Potosí (poh toh SEE) in the Andes produced tons of silver ore. Treasure from the Americas helped to make Spain the richest and most powerful nation in Europe at this time.

**Plantation economy.** Agriculture in the Americas was another source of wealth for Spain. Spanish colonists set up plantations to grow cash crops that were shipped to Spain. Each plantation was a large tract of land operated by the owner or an overseer and farmed by workers who lived on the land.

A plantation usually grew a single crop. Many plantations in the West Indies produced sugar cane, which was made into refined sugar for easy shipping. Most plantations in Central and South America produced coffee or fruit crops such as bananas. In Mexico and Argentina, colonists turned large tracts of land into cattle or sheep ranches. These ranches provided meat, hides for leather, and wool for textiles.

## The Search for Labor

Spanish settlers needed workers for their mines, plantations, and ranches. As a result, they tried various sources of labor.

**Encomienda system.** During the early 1500s, the king of Spain rewarded the conquistadors with encomiendas. An encomienda gave a Spanish settler the right to demand taxes or labor from the people living on the land. The settler given an encomienda was supposed to pay the Native Americans for their work, look after their health, and teach them about Christianity.

In many places, settlers forced Native Americans to labor in mines under dangerous and unhealthy conditions. The backbreaking work, poor food, and frequent epidemics killed thousands of Indians. Four out of every five Indians died during their first year in the mines. On the sugar plantations of Hispaniola, harsh conditions and brutal treatment led to the destruction of the entire population of the Arawak people.

**Bartolomé de las Casas.** A few Spanish settlers spoke out against the mistreatment of the Indians. Bartolomé de las Casas (las KAH sahs) briefly held an encomienda in Cuba. His disgust at the cruel system led him to become a Dominican friar. He then went to Spain to plead with the king to stop the misuse of the Indians. In detailed reports, he told of the horrors he had seen and the desperation of the Indians.

In his *General History of the Indies*, Las Casas told of a Native American prince who was named Hatuey. Condemned to be burned at the stake for leading a rebellion, Hatuey asked a Spanish monk if heaven was open to the Spanish.

“The monk replied that it was open to those who were good. With no more thought, Hatuey said he had no mind to go to heaven, for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked people as they were; he would much rather go to hell. This is the renown and honor that God and our religion have acquired because of the people who have gone to the Indies.”

**New laws.** Reports from Las Casas caused a scandal in Spain. In 1542, the government passed the New Laws of the Indies. They reformed the encomienda system and banned the enslavement of Native Americans. By then, however, most Indians in the Caribbean had died from mistreatment and diseases brought by the Europeans, and Indian populations elsewhere had fallen dramatically.

The death of so many Native Americans opened new lands for the Spanish to settle. By the late 1500s, many newcomers from Spain owned haciendas, or large plantations. The haciendas were located on the best farmland, leaving the Indians only the least productive lands.

## A Slave System

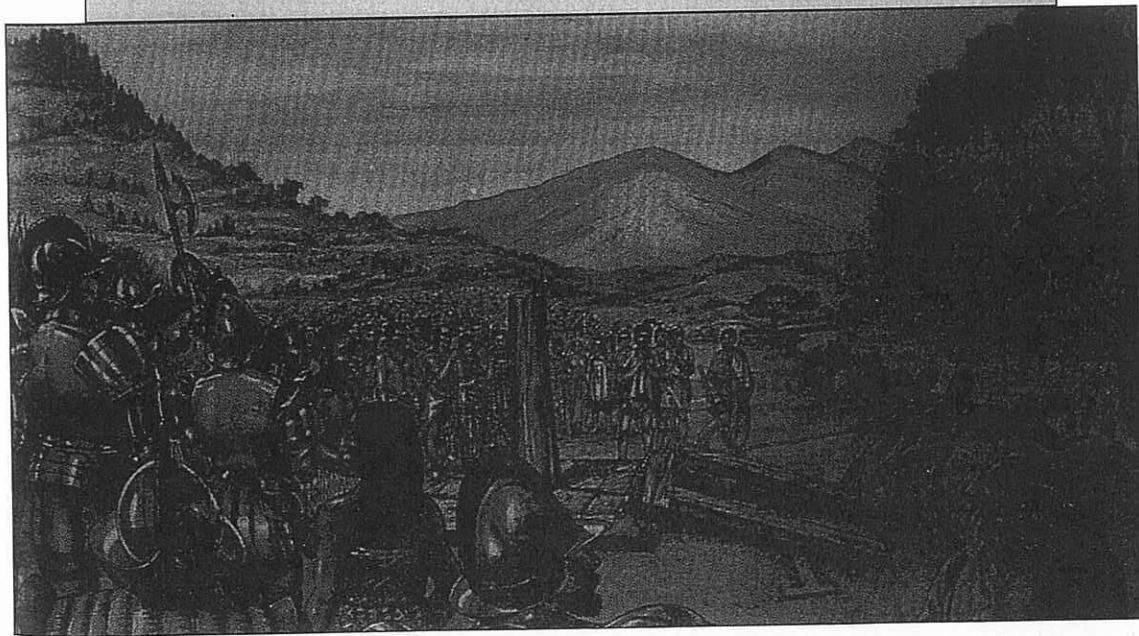
In his desire to protect the Indians, Las Casas gave advice that he later regretted. He suggested that Spain use Africans instead of Indians to work the mines and plantations. He thought that Africans could survive the harsh conditions in the tropics.

**Roots of slavery.** During the 1500s, slavery existed in Europe as it did elsewhere around the world. Europeans bought slaves from Russia and Eastern Europe as well as from Africa. In fact, the word slave comes from Slav, the name of an ethnic group that includes Russians and Poles. During the mid-1500s, however, the expanding Ottoman Empire cut off the supply of slaves from Eastern Europe. By that time, the Portuguese were increasing their trade with Africa, exchanging cloth and weapons for gold, salt, and slaves.

**The Atlantic slave trade.** Several factors encouraged the growth of the trade in African peoples. For one thing, the Spanish were already using Africans to work their plantations on the Canary Islands off the northwest coast of Africa. When colonists in the Americas needed laborers, Europeans were ready to send Africans across the Atlantic.

**A New Settlement** In the 1500s, the Spanish built towns across Mexico. This painting shows the founding of San Cr stobal de las Casas in southern Mexico. It lies in a high, fertile basin and is ringed by the Chiapas Mountains.

**Choice** Why do you think the Spanish moved quickly to build settlements like this one?





Spanish colonists gradually replaced enslaved Native American laborers with enslaved African workers. Africans who reached the Americas had already survived capture in Africa, exposure to European diseases, and the middle passage. As a result, a myth developed that Africans were better suited to slavery than Native Americans. This myth was used to justify the enslavement of Africans.

As you read in Chapter 4, European slave traders sent millions of Africans to the Americas. Many Africans died during the terrible voyage across the Atlantic. Others died from overwork, poor food, and unhealthy living conditions. As late as 1850, a slave in Brazil could be expected to live for about 35 years. As a result, the demand for slaves continued.

### The Portuguese in Brazil

At first, the Portuguese were slow to develop their American colony in Brazil. They were busy building a trading empire in Africa and in the Spice Islands of Southeast Asia. (See Chapter 12.)

In the 1530s, the king of Portugal began to encourage settlement. He was afraid the French or English would seize Brazil. As a result, he divided the colony into 15 regions and distributed them among the nobles at his court. Each *donatario*, as these landowners were called, was the lord of a huge area. The *donatarios*, in turn, brought over colonists from Portugal to settle their lands.

**Sugar and slavery.** To make the colony profitable, the Portuguese turned to growing sugar. Between 1550 and 1605, the number of sugar plantations grew from 5 to 350. Like the Spanish, the Portuguese, too, enslaved the Native Americans at first, but then turned to slaves from Africa. Nearly 40 percent of all Africans taken to the Americas were sent to Brazil. By 1851, when the slave trade finally ended, slave traders had carried 3.5 million Africans to Brazil.

In addition to sugar cane, Brazil produced cotton and coffee. Colonists built plantations in a narrow strip along the coast at the mouths of rivers. Port cities such as Bahia,

Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro grew as the plantation economy prospered.

During the 1630s, the Dutch seized lands in Brazil and learned to grow sugar. When the Portuguese expelled them, many Dutch moved to the Caribbean. There, they set up sugar plantations like those they had left in Brazil. English, French, and Danish settlers also seized islands in the Caribbean. They then learned from the Dutch how to produce sugar.

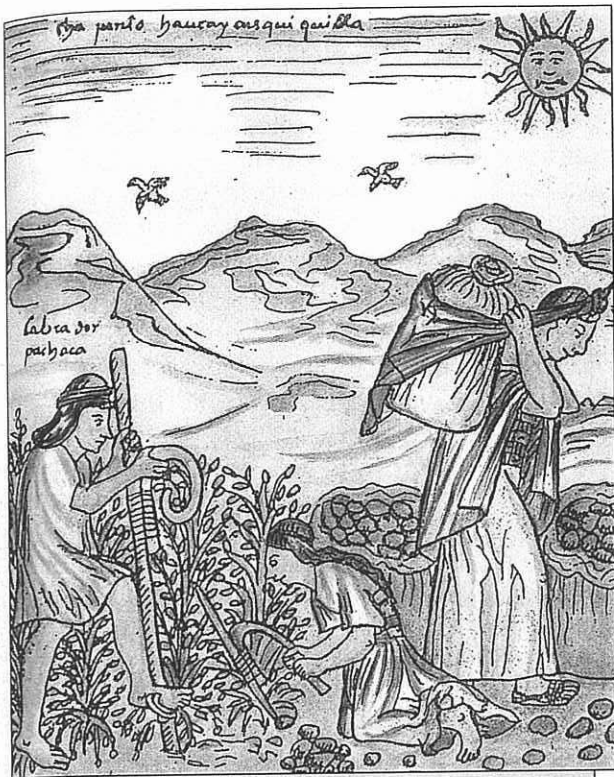
**New treasures.** During the 1690s, the Portuguese discovered gold and diamonds in the Brazilian Highlands. Thousands of colonists deserted the coastal cities to seek their fortunes in the interior. New settlers, eager to find gold, poured in from Portugal. They took many slaves to work in the gold fields, further expanding settlement in Brazil.

### The Columbian Exchange

The European exploration and conquest of the Americas created important links between the Eastern and Western hemispheres. These links changed both regions forever. Europeans and Africans brought plants, animals, and knowledge to the Americas. In turn, products and ideas from the Americas spread around the world. This global exchange of people, goods, and ideas is called the Columbian exchange. It is named after Christopher Columbus.

**Movement of peoples.** The Columbian exchange involved the movement of millions of people. Settlers flocked to the Americas from all over Europe, carrying their ideas about government, law, and religion. Enslaved Africans also brought their own cultures to the New World. Through their folktales, music, and beliefs, they helped to reshape the cultures of the Americas.

**Foods.** The Spanish introduced many new foods from the Americas to Europeans. These included corn, potatoes, squash, chocolate, peanuts, and tomatoes. From the Americas, Europeans carried sweet potatoes to Africa and pineapples, papaya, and chili peppers to Asia. The new foods enriched the diets of people around the world. Italians, for exam-



**Potato Farming** Andean people first raised potatoes about 2,000 years ago. The Spanish took this vegetable back to Europe. At first, because the Bible did not mention potatoes, some clergy warned Europeans not to eat them. In time, however, potatoes became an important part of people's diet.

**Interdependence** How did the Columbian exchange help enrich the food supply of the world?

ple, invented many dishes that included tomatoes. People in India used chili peppers to spice their curry dishes.

At the same time, Europeans introduced new crops such as wheat, barley, and chickpeas to the Americas. Columbus brought horses, cows, sheep, chickens, and pigs from Europe. Horses and cattle thrived in parts of Mexico and Argentina. From Asia, Europeans brought rice and bananas to the Americas, while from Africa, they carried yams, sugar cane, coffee, and coconuts.

**Disease.** From the Incas, Europeans learned to use quinine, from the bark of the cinchona tree, to treat malaria. At the same

time, however, the Spanish carried diseases such as smallpox, measles, and influenza to the Americas. Because they had no resistance to these diseases, Native Americans died in great numbers. An Aztec described a smallpox epidemic that struck Tenochtitlán during the 1520s:

“ The illness was so dreadful that no one could walk or move. . . . A great many died from this plague and many others died of hunger. They could not get up to search for food, and everyone else was too sick to care for them. ”

Disease, along with war and mistreatment, changed the population patterns of the Americas. The Indian population of Central Mexico, for example, was about 25 million when Cortés arrived in 1519. It fell to 6 million by 1550 and to a little more than 1 million by 1605.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Hispaniola, (b) New Spain, (c) Peru, (d) Brazil.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Vasco Núñez de Balboa, (b) Ferdinand Magellan, (c) Pedro Cabral, (d) Bartolomé de las Casas, (e) Columbian exchange.
- 3. Define:** (a) viceroy, (b) cabildo, (c) mercantilism, (d) hacienda, (e) donatario.
- 4.** How did the king of Spain control his empire in the Americas?
- 5.** How did Europeans get the workers they needed to make their colonies profitable?
- 6.** Describe three results of the Columbian exchange.
- 7. Understanding Causes and Effects** How did sugar encourage the growth of the slave trade between Africa and the Americas?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a list of ways in which European exploration and conquest of the Americas have affected your life.



## 2

# PATTERNS OF LIFE

### FIND OUT

What social classes developed in Latin America?

How did the Catholic Church influence colonial life?

What were the main features of family life?

**Vocabulary** peninsular, creole, peon

“**A**t the age of six or seven, when I already knew how to read and write, as well as to sew and do other women’s tasks, I heard that in Mexico City there was a university, and schools where the sciences were taught. No sooner had I heard this than I began to badger my mother with pleas that she let me put on men’s clothing and go to Mexico City.”

Juana Inés de la Cruz was brilliant. Still, officials refused to admit her to the university because she was a woman. To pursue a life of study, she became a nun. In the convent, she wrote poems and essays on topics ranging from music to mathematics. At a time when few women in Latin America learned to read, Sor (Sister) Juana won great fame for her clever writings and her vast knowledge.

Sor Juana lived in Mexico during the 1600s. There, as elsewhere in the Americas, certain patterns of life emerged. The three most powerful forces that shaped colonial life were the social system, the Roman Catholic Church, and the cities.

## A Rigid Class System

A rigid social structure governed colonial life. Although conditions varied from one re-

gion to another and changes occurred over time, the social system was basically the same throughout Latin America.

**Peninsulares.** The highest class were the peninsulares (peh NIHN suh LAHR ays), officials sent from Spain to rule the colonies. Peninsulares included viceroys as well as high government and Church officials. This small but powerful group controlled the economic and political life of the colonies. Proud of their Spanish birth, the peninsulares looked down on people who were born in the colonies.

**Creoles.** Ranked below the peninsulares were the creoles, who were American-born descendants of Spanish settlers. By law, creoles had the same rights as peninsulares. In practice, however, the king did not appoint creoles to top jobs in government or the Church. Educated and wealthy creoles bitterly resented the privileged peninsulares.

**Mestizos.** Far below the peninsulares and creoles were the mestizos, people of mixed Indian and European descent. Their numbers grew over the years until they became the majority in some areas. Most mestizos were shop owners, artisans, farmers, and overseers at mines or on plantations.

**Native Americans.** Lower on the social scale were the Native Americans. Some worked as farmhands on haciendas owned by peninsulares and creoles. Others lived in their own villages, raising crops on lands that they held in common. In most villages, Native Americans spoke their own languages and preserved their own traditions. Nearly all became Christians, however.

**Free blacks.** Over time, the number of free blacks grew. Both Spain and Portugal allowed slaves to buy their freedom. A few owners freed their slaves in their wills. In the Caribbean islands ruled by the British or French, slaves had a much harder time winning freedom.

Most free blacks became farm workers and laborers. Some, especially in Brazil, earned a living in skilled trades. They worked as barbers, shoemakers, goldsmiths, sculptors, and musicians.

**Slaves.** At the lowest level of society were the slaves. Planters deliberately bought slaves from different parts of Africa so that their slaves would not have a common language or religion. They would then have to adopt the language and customs of their owners. Most slaves became Christians, although a few Muslim Africans held on to their beliefs.

Under colonial law, slaves were considered to be property. Even so, slaves in Latin America had certain rights. They could marry and own property, unlike slaves in the English colonies. They could also buy their freedom.

## The Roman Catholic Church

The social system divided people along class lines. By contrast, the Roman Catholic Church was a unifying force. From the very beginning, the Church played a major role in shaping colonial life. The missionaries who came with the conquistadors set up churches in towns and cities. They also traveled to remote areas, where they built missions.

At first, the missionaries tried to protect the Indians from harsh rule by the Spanish. But they also wanted Native Americans to give up their religious beliefs, which the missionaries believed were evil. For this reason, they destroyed Native American temples, statues, and sacred objects. In writing about his travels to Maya lands, the bishop Diego de Landa said, "We found a large number of books . . . and we burned them all."

**Indian influences.** The Church replaced Native American beliefs with those of European Christians. In the process, the Church absorbed some Indian customs. In Mexico City, Cuzco, and elsewhere, Christian churches were built on the ruins of Indian temples. In Mexico, Indian stonemasons decorated the new churches with both Christian figures and Aztec symbols. Offerings of maize and other local products filled the churches during religious festivals. The story of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which you read earlier, is an example of the blending of Indian and Christian traditions.



**Social Classes** At top, a peninsular and his family are out for a walk near their home. The family's fine clothing and servants attest to their high status in society. In contrast, the people in the picture below rank lower on the social scale as their clothing and heavy loads suggest.

**Diversity** Name and rank the six main social classes in colonial Latin America.



**Africans and the Church.** The Church also spread Christianity among the Africans who had been brought to the Americas. To teach Christian beliefs, missionaries told stories about saints. Africans often saw similarities between their traditional gods and Catholic saints. Most Africans converted to Christianity,





**Life in Havana** Wealthy women had the advantage of shopping from their carriage in Cuba's capital city. When these women returned home, they may have enjoyed a popular beverage made of chocolate, or cacao, and some pastry. A variety of fresh fruit, including figs, bananas, grapes, and oranges, was also available. **Culture** What were some of the activities of upper-class women?

but many retained some elements of their traditional beliefs.

**A powerful force.** Because it had close ties to the government, the Church enjoyed great power and wealth. It received huge grants of land from Spain and Portugal, as well as gifts from wealthy colonists. Like other landowners, Church officials taxed the Indians and others who worked the land. In time, the Church became the largest and richest property owner in Latin America.

The Church controlled many aspects of life, including education, hospitals, and services to the poor. It set up schools and trained teachers. By the 1550s, it had built universities in Santo Domingo, Mexico City, and Lima. There, the sons of wealthy creoles and even some mestizos studied to become priests, doctors, and lawyers. The Church spent large sums on charity and on the many religious festivals that were celebrated throughout the year.

### Family Life

Family ties were strong throughout Latin America. Among Spanish and Portuguese colonists, the extended family was the ideal. On many haciendas, several generations lived under one roof. Servants, slaves, and even

skilled craftworkers might also live with the extended family. In towns and cities, however, many colonists lived in nuclear families, although they maintained close ties to relatives.

*Padrinos*, or godparents, played an important role in the family. They made sure that their godchildren received proper religious instruction. Often, *padrinos* were friends or relatives who helped the family in time of need.

By tradition, families were patriarchal. The oldest male made the important decisions. When a man died, most of his lands and property went to his eldest son. Women and younger family members were expected to obey the head of the household. Parents arranged marriages. Sometimes, a young couple would not meet each other until the day of their wedding.

Women in the Spanish colonies had few rights. The Spanish believed that teaching women to read and write would corrupt them. Therefore, most women received little or no formal education. Sor Juana was an exception. She struggled hard to educate herself. Even then, officials refused to admit her to the University of Mexico.

Women from the middle and upper classes were carefully guarded when they went outside the home. Unmarried women had to

travel with dueñas, or chaperones. In wealthy households, women occupied their time with music, embroidery, or religious matters. Some did charity work at hospitals and orphanages. Servants or slaves did the housework.

Lower-class women often worked outside the home. In cities and towns, some women ran taverns or small stores, especially if they were widowed. In rural areas, a widow might manage a farm or ranch if she had no male relative nearby.

### Life in the Cities

Cities were the center of power and wealth in Latin America. Most peninsulares and many creoles lived in towns or cities. Owners of plantations and mines also spent long periods in their city homes, leaving overseers to look after their properties in the country.

**Town layout.** Colonial towns and cities had the same layout as those in Spain or Portugal. At the center was a large plaza, with a cathedral or church on one side and government buildings, a monastery, or a school on the other. Wide streets led out from this central plaza. Wealthy families lived along these streets. Beyond were the homes of artisans and small merchants. The poorest people lived on the outskirts of the town.

**Rich and poor.** In colonial cities, the wealthy copied the styles of the upper class in Spain and Portugal. Architects designed stone and brick houses like those in Madrid or Lisbon. The rich imported furniture, rugs, and paintings from Europe. They dressed lavishly to show off their great wealth. "A hat-band and rose made of diamonds in a gentleman's hat is common," noted one visitor.

In contrast, the poor lived in homes made of adobe, or sun-dried brick, with straw roofs. In the Caribbean, they lived in shacks made of planks or sugar canes and thatched with palm leaves. They wore simple, homespun clothes. Both rich and poor, however, enjoyed the many public celebrations and fiestas. To mark occasions such as the arrival of a new viceroy, towns and cities held bullfights and grand processions.

### Life in the Countryside

Some Latin American cities grew to be very large by the early 1600s, but most people lived in the countryside. Native Americans and mestizos lived in villages and on haciendas. A hacienda was like a small town owned by one person. The largest haciendas covered many square miles of territory. The *hacendado*, or landlord, ruled his estate with a firm

**Country Life** This drawing shows the society of Mexico's rural areas. Hunting and riding were favorite pastimes of the rich hacendados. The landless peasants who farmed these estates worked long, hard hours in the fields. However, they, too, enjoyed amusements such as family weddings and christenings. **Power** How did the estate owners control the peasants who worked for them?





hand. He acted as both judge and jury if someone was accused of a crime.

**Life on the hacienda.** Haciendas might be either farms or ranches. They were largely self-sufficient. They produced crops, meat, and leather for their own use and for sale to outside markets. Haciendas in north Mexico, for example, provided for the needs of the silver mining center at Zacateces.

Workers on haciendas made their own clothing, candles, and other everyday goods. A blacksmith made farm tools and horseshoes. On religious holidays, people held their own celebrations and might have their own rodeos.

Most hacienda workers were Native Americans. Often, haciendas included one or more Native American villages. The hacendados sought to hold Indian workers in debt in order to ensure a steady source of labor for their land. They would give workers advances on their wages and require them to stay on the hacienda until they had paid back what they owed. Indians or mestizos who were

forced to work for someone else in order to pay off a debt were called *peons*.

Native American men did the heavy outdoor work. Women were usually cooks and servants in the hacendado's house. In addition, Native Americans also grew their own food on small plots of land.

Haciendas were frequently so large and self-sufficient that many people spent their entire lives on these estates. As a result, haciendas contributed to regionalism within Latin America. ( See Connections With Literature, page 806, "Bread.")

**Maroon colonies.** Another type of rural settlement was the maroon colony.\* Maroon colonies were villages built by escaped slaves. They were found in Brazil, the Guianas, Haiti, and Jamaica. Runaways faced the constant risk of attack by soldiers. To planters, the maroons set a dangerous example for their own slaves, who might be inspired by them to dream of freedom.

**Escape to the Woods** In Brazil, the Caribbean, and elsewhere in Latin America, escaped slaves hid and formed their own communities, or maroons. One maroon settlement in Brazil lasted for more than 65 years. Another, in Ecuador, escaped discovery by the Spanish for nearly three centuries. **Human Rights** What benefits did escaped slaves hope to gain by living isolated from others?



## Up Close

### Life in a Maroon Colony

Louis and his father carefully planned their escape. All week, they saved and hid food. Early one morning, they stole a small canoe. They paddled upstream, away from the town of Cayenne in French Guiana. With luck, they might reach a maroon colony, high in the hills.

After paddling beyond the last houses, Louis and his father hid in the forest. Eventually, they met another escaped slave who told them how to reach the nearest maroon village. Louis recalled:

“ We slept in the forest that first day and arrived at the village on the following day at about noon, after having taken several detours and passed many streams and mountains. ”

\* Maroon comes from the Spanish word *cimarrón*, meaning wild or untamed.

More than 70 runaways lived in the maroon colony. They welcomed and fed the two newcomers. The gardens that surrounded the village, said Louis, "are almost completely filled with manioc, millet, rice, sweet potatoes, yams, sugar cane, bananas, and other crops, and a lot of cotton." Women first spun the cotton into yarn and then wove it into clothing.

The villagers gave land to Louis and his father. "Everyone is allotted a plot according to the needs of his family," Louis noted. "Whenever land has to be cleared, everyone works together." Still, life was not easy. The maroons had few tools or pots and pans. They had some weapons but little gunpowder.

The villagers were devout Christians who recited prayers each morning and evening. In addition, Louis noted, "They maintain strict observance of Sundays and feast days by refraining from work and reciting the rosary."

After a year and a half of freedom, Louis and many other villagers were captured by French soldiers. The French executed the colony's leaders in front of their children. Louis and his father were sent back to their owners. ■

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Define:** (a) peninsular, (b) creole, (c) peon.
- 2.** (a) Describe the main social classes in colonial Latin America. (b) Why did creoles resent the peninsulares?
- 3.** What are three ways the Catholic Church influenced colonial Latin America?
- 4.** (a) Who had most power in the traditional family? (b) How did social class affect women's lives?
- 5. Comparing** (a) How did city life differ from rural life in colonial Latin America? (b) In what ways were they similar?
- 6. Writing Across Cultures** In both Latin America and the United States, runaway slaves took enormous risks. Write a diary entry in which a slave explains why he or she is willing to face these dangers.

## 3

# WINNING INDEPENDENCE

### FIND OUT

- Why did the people of Latin America seek independence?
- How did events in Europe influence the wars of independence?
- What role did individual leaders play in winning independence?

**B**efore dawn on September 16, 1810, ringing church bells woke the Indian peasants of Dolores, a small town in Mexico. The people hurried to their church. Their creole priest, Father Miguel Hidalgo, was waiting for them. He spoke urgently:

“My children, will you be free? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers 300 years ago?”

Startled at first, the people soon responded to Father Hidalgo's call. His words echoed throughout the Spanish colonies in Latin America. "*El grito de Dolores*"—the cry of Dolores—became the rallying cry for many people unhappy with Spanish rule. Today, Mexicans celebrate September 16 as their Independence Day.

## Unrest in the Colonies

By the late 1700s, many groups had begun to demand freedom from Spanish rule. Creoles often led the struggles for independence. The creoles felt that they had built the colonies and deserved to rule them. Getting rid of royal officials would open new opportunities.

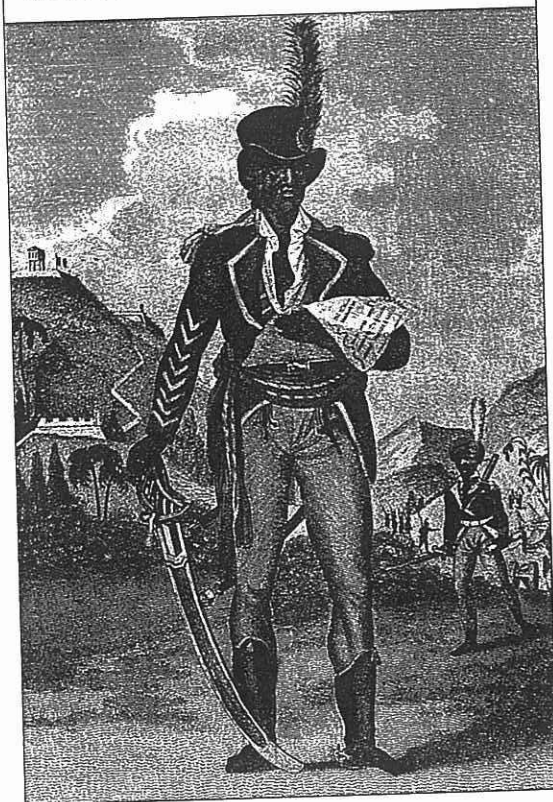
Mestizos, too, hoped to move up in society once the peninsulares were gone. Many Indians, remembering that the Spanish had



taken their lands 300 years earlier, also sought freedom from Spanish rule. In 1780, the Indian leader Tupac Amaru led a revolt against the Spanish in Peru. After a brief success, the revolt was crushed and Tupac Amaru and all his family were executed or imprisoned. Finally, slaves saw independence as a way to gain freedom.

**Spread of revolutionary ideas.** Radical new ideas from Europe fueled the growing discontent. During the period known as the Enlightenment, thinkers in France and Britain argued that people had natural rights to life, liberty, and property. These thinkers supported freedom of speech, an end to slavery, and the idea that people had the right to rebel

**Toussaint L'Ouverture** As ruler of an independent Haiti, L'Ouverture kept strict control over his people. The freed slaves who worked on the plantations now received some of the profits. L'Ouverture, a deeply religious man, dealt fairly with the French, who had oppressed his people. **Change** Why did Haiti's independence alarm creoles in other Latin American colonies?



against unjust rulers. You will read more about the Enlightenment in Chapter 30.

Ideas like these encouraged colonists in North America to throw off British rule in 1776. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, creoles and mestizos watched events in Europe with interest. Some took up the cry of the French revolutionaries—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

## Revolution in Haiti

Revolutionary ideas touched off a revolt in French-ruled Haiti. Located on the island of Hispaniola, Haiti was the world's leading sugar producer. A few French families made huge profits from sugar, while most Haitians lived in misery as slaves.

When the French Revolution began, white settlers called for independence. Slaves had their own goal—freedom. In 1791, they rebelled. They burned the sugar cane in the fields and killed hundreds of slave owners. The uprising touched off 13 years of terrible civil war in which both sides suffered massacres.

**Toussaint L'Ouverture.** The rebels found a remarkable leader in Toussaint L'Ouverture (too SAN loo vehr TYOOR), a self-educated former slave. L'Ouverture organized the rebels into an effective fighting force. By 1800, this able but ruthless leader had driven all foreign forces out of Hispaniola.

When the ambitious general Napoleon Bonaparte took power in France, he decided to reclaim the rich sugar plantations of Haiti for France. In 1802, he sent a French army to the island. L'Ouverture urged Haitians to fight to the death against the invaders.

The French captured L'Ouverture and sent him to an icy prison in France. There, the Haitian leader died in 1803. Before his death, however, he warned the French:

“In overthrowing me, the French have only felled the tree of black liberty in Saint Domingue [Haiti]. It will shoot up again for it is deeply rooted and its roots are many.”

**Independence at last.** In Haiti, meanwhile, thousands of French soldiers died from

yellow fever. The survivors fled the island. In 1804, Haiti declared its independence. It became the first independent nation in Latin America and the second in the Western Hemisphere, after the United States.

Haiti's success frightened many creoles in Spanish America. They wanted independence, but not a revolution that might upset the social order. The Haitian slave revolt roused fears about what actions other slave populations in the Americas might take.

## Liberty for South America

Events in Europe triggered revolts in most of Spanish-ruled America. During the early 1800s, Napoleon plunged all of Europe, including Spain, into years of war. The fighting weakened Spain's hold on its colonies and increased demands for independence.

With the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Spain set out to restore its authority in its colonies. By then, however, the colonists had found strong leaders who were determined to win freedom.

**Simón Bolívar.** In South America, Simón Bolívar (see MOHN boh LEE vahr) earned the title "the Liberator" for his role in the wars of independence. Energetic and brilliant, Bolívar came from a wealthy creole family in Venezuela. As a young man, he studied in Europe. There, his love of freedom was strengthened by the ideas of the French Revolution. Before returning, Bolívar vowed:

“I will never allow my hands to be idle nor my soul to rest until I have broken the chains laid upon us by Spain.”

In 1807, Bolívar joined revolutionaries in Venezuela who were plotting to end Spanish rule. They faced a long struggle against the peninsulares and other royalists, or supporters of the monarchy. Twice, Bolívar had to flee to Haiti. Haitian leaders gave him ships, guns, money, and a printing press. In return, Bolívar promised to free all slaves once Venezuela gained independence.

The rebels were not strong enough to defeat the royalists; who held forts along the



**“The Liberator”** In a daring move, Simón Bolívar and his ragged army scaled the Andes. They suffered great hardships before they triumphed over the Spanish defenders of Bogotá. After 1819, the Liberator's successes increased as he helped other areas gain freedom from Spain. **Power** How do you think a bold move like crossing the Andes inspired confidence in Bolívar's leadership?

coast. Instead, Bolívar came up with a bold plan. He would march his army inland and over the Andes to attack Bogotá, capital of the viceroyalty of New Grenada. Bolívar won the backing of the *llaneros* (yahn AYR ohs), the cowboys of the plains. They held down Spanish forces in Venezuela. Meanwhile, Bolívar led his ragged army up the Orinoco River, through dense jungles, and over the icy peaks of the Andes. In 1819, they surprised and defeated the Spanish defenders of Bogotá.

Bolívar then set up the Republic of Gran Colombia, which included Venezuela, Colombia, and two areas yet to be freed from Spanish rule—Ecuador and Peru. In the fight to free those colonies, Bolívar joined forces with another Latin American hero, José de San Martín.

**José de San Martín.** Like Bolívar, José de San Martín was a creole. His family lived in





### MAP STUDY

During the early 1800s, most of Latin America gained its independence from European rule.

- 1. Region** (a) Name the nations of Central America that gained their independence from Spain. (b) Which lands in Central America and the Caribbean remained European colonies?
- 2. Interaction** How did geography affect the struggle for independence?
- 3. Comparing** Compare this map with the map on page 459. Then write two generalizations about the changes that occurred in the Americas by the early 1800s.

Argentina but sent him to Spain to serve as an officer in the Spanish army. In 1812, San Martín returned to Argentina to fight for freedom. By 1816, Argentina had won independence.

San Martín then vowed to liberate Chile. With the help of Chilean patriot Bernardo O'Higgins, San Martín led his army across 12,000-foot (3,657 m) snow-clogged passes in the Andes. Troops dragged heavy cannons up dangerous, icy trails. Caught unprepared, the Spanish soon surrendered. Chile declared its independence in 1818.

San Martín left O'Higgins in charge of Chile. He then headed north to help Bolívar free Ecuador and Peru. By 1825, South America had thrown off Spanish rule. The British, French, and Dutch, however, still held their colonies on the northern coast of South America.

### Mexico's Struggle for Freedom

With the "grito de Dolores," in 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo touched off a long struggle for independence in Mexico. There, as elsewhere in Latin America, many groups had grievances against Spain.

**Division between rich and poor.** At first, the creoles supported Hidalgo and his army of Native Americans and mestizos. However, they soon turned against the rebellion. As the rebels marched toward Mexico City, they seized the estates of wealthy creoles and peninsulares. Hidalgo announced liberal reforms such as an end to slavery and to the tribute that Indians had to pay. He also promised to return lands to the Indians. This frightened creole landowners, who withheld their support from the rebels.

That decision had tragic consequences. Peninsulares, rich merchants, Church officials, and even many creoles were loyal to Spain. Their well-trained, well-armed forces soon forced the rebels into retreat. In 1811, the Spanish captured Hidalgo. Just 10 months after uttering the "grito," Hidalgo died before a royalist firing squad.

**José Morelos.** The rebels found a new leader in a mestizo priest named Father José María Morelos. He brought discipline to the rebel army and won some successes. In 1815, however, he, too, was captured and executed. For a time, the revolution had no army or strong leaders, just loosely organized guerrilla bands.

**Independence.** In 1820, events in Europe again influenced Mexico. Reformers took power in Spain. They wrote a liberal constitution for Mexico that gave creoles more rights to rule the colony. In this way, the reformers hoped to win favor with the creoles. The plan backfired, however. Wealthy creoles feared that the new constitution would take away their privileges. They decided to fight for independence.

Their leader was a creole army officer, Agustín de Iturbide (ee toor BEE thay). Although he had long fought against the rebels, Iturbide now joined forces with the Indians and mestizos. In 1821, Iturbide declared Mexican independence and made himself emperor. After two years, he was forced to step down. In 1823, creole leaders wrote a constitution that made Mexico a republic.

**Independence for Central America.** Inspired by Iturbide, leaders in Central America declared independence. Most of Central America joined Mexico. Panama, however, chose to become part of Gran Colombia.

After Iturbide's downfall, Central America left Mexico to form the United Provinces of Central America. This republic included El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. The union lasted about 15 years before it began to break up into five separate nations.

## Independence for Brazil

During this period, Brazil also gained independence, but through mostly peaceful means. Once again, Napoleon's actions in Europe affected the Americas. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807, King John VI and 15,000 members of his court fled to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. There, the needs of the newcomers stimulated farming, trade, and industry. Brazilian creoles, however, wanted self-rule. They demanded a constitution, even independence.

In 1821, King John returned to Portugal, but left his son Pedro to rule Brazil. Before sailing, the king advised Pedro, "If Brazil demands independence, proclaim it yourself and put the crown on your own head."

Pedro took his father's advice. In 1822, urged on by Brazilian patriots, he declared, "Independence or Death!" Pedro made himself emperor of the new country but agreed to accept a constitution. It gave most Brazilians basic rights and set up an elected legislature. Unlike many other new nations of South America, Brazil did not abolish slavery. Freedom for slaves would not come until the late 1800s. Brazil remained a monarchy until 1889. That year, Brazilians forced the emperor to step down and proclaimed a republic.

**Father Hidalgo** This mural by Juan O'Gorman shows the Mexican leader, Father Miguel Hidalgo, uttering his famous "cry of Dolores." Although Hidalgo failed as a military leader, he aroused the spirit of revolt against Spanish rule. **Fine Art** According to this mural, what groups of people supported the Mexican struggle for independence.





## SECTION 3 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** (a) Miguel Hidalgo, (b) Toussaint L'Ouverture, (c) Simón Bolívar, (d) Republic of Gran Colombia, (e) José de San Martín, (f) Agustín de Iturbide, (g) Pedro.
2. Explain why the following groups wanted independence from Spain: (a) creoles, (b) mestizos, (c) Indians, (d) slaves.
3. Describe two ways that Napoleon's actions in Europe affected the struggle for independence in Latin America.
4. Why did Miguel Hidalgo lose the support of the creoles in Mexico?
5. **Analyzing Ideas** (a) How did Simón Bolívar earn the nickname "the Liberator"? (b) Why do you think he was so successful?
6. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a letter from a creole to a friend in the United States. Discuss how United States independence inspired your colony to resist European rule.

## 4

### THE NEW REPUBLICS

#### FIND OUT

Why did the new nations of Latin America have trouble building stable governments?

How did the ideas of conservatives and liberals differ?

What economic ties bound Latin America to Europe?

**Vocabulary** caudillo, oligarchy

**D**uring the wars of independence, Simón Bolívar had great hopes for Latin America:

“I desire to see America fashioned into the one greatest nation in the world, greatest not so much by virtue of her

area and wealth as by her freedom and glory.”

Bolívar's hopes were later shattered, however. In 1829, the year before his death, he wrote, “America is ungovernable. He who serves a revolution plows the sea.”

What happened to disappoint him so completely?

### Obstacles to Progress

Like Bolívar, people throughout Latin America hoped that independence would bring justice and new economic opportunities. Leaders wrote constitutions modeled on that of the United States. The new constitutions did not bring democracy, however. Instead, the new nations suffered civil wars and dictators rose to power. A number of reasons help explain why Latin American nations failed to establish stable, democratic governments.

**Geographic barriers.** Despite years of hard work, Bolívar failed to achieve his dream of unity among American nations. Gran Colombia split into separate countries, as did the United Provinces of Central America. By the 1830s, Latin America was divided into 18 independent nations.

Geography created barriers to unity. The Andes Mountains divided Colombians and Venezuelans. The Atacama Desert cut Chile off from Peru. Border disputes between the new nations erupted into war.

Within individual countries, geographic barriers and limited communications also divided people. For example, farmers and ranchers on the pampas of Argentina had different interests from those of the merchants of Buenos Aires. Such divisions created strong regional loyalties and prevented national unity.

**Deep divisions.** Social and economic divisions also contributed to instability. After independence, the old social system remained. The peninsulares were gone. In their place, the creoles dominated society. As in colonial times, a tiny wealthy elite controlled the land and mines while most people—laborers and peasants—lived in poverty.

Independence did end slavery in Spanish America. Native Americans, however, did not regain lands that had been taken from them. Also, most peasants were peons, tied to the land. The gap between rich and poor, between wealthy landowners and the landless, contributed to unrest.

**Lack of experience.** Under Spanish rule, colonists had little experience with representative government. The new constitutions set up elected legislatures, but people were unfamiliar with how such a system should work. Only men with property or money had the right to vote.

### Power Struggles

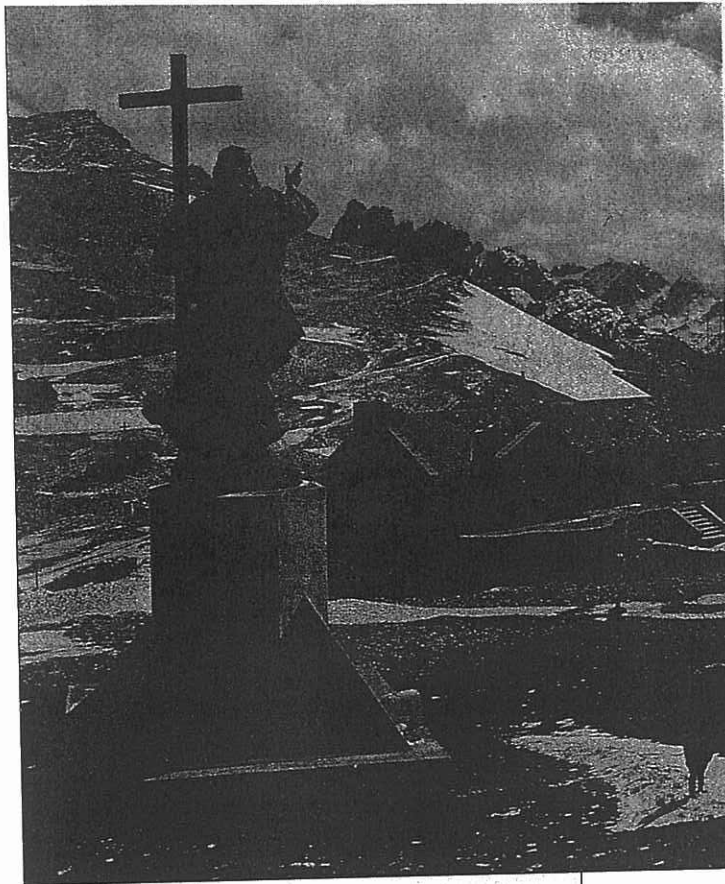
"Many tyrants will arise on my tomb," Bolívar had predicted. In the turbulent years after independence, his words came true.

**Rise of caudillos.** Within each country, power struggles often erupted between rival groups. In this atmosphere of violence, military leaders known as caudillos seized power and ruled as dictators. Often a caudillo held power for only a short time before another military strongman overthrew him.

In Mexico, for example, General Antonio López de Santa Anna seized power six times between 1832 and 1855. In Argentina, Juan Manuel de Rosas was head of the army. Rosas seized power in 1835 and used the army to enforce his will. Rosas remained in power for 17 years, until another caudillo overthrew him.

Many caudillos were heroes of the wars of independence in Latin America. They won popular support by promising democratic reforms or land reform. Once in office, however, they rewarded their friends with jobs and land. They put their own interests ahead of those of the country.

**Oligarchies.** By the late 1800s, the central government in most republics had gained control over the country. Most governments became oligarchies. Under an oligarchy, a small elite has ruling power. The oligarchies included wealthy landowners, merchants, and mine owners. The Catholic Church and the military also exercised great power.

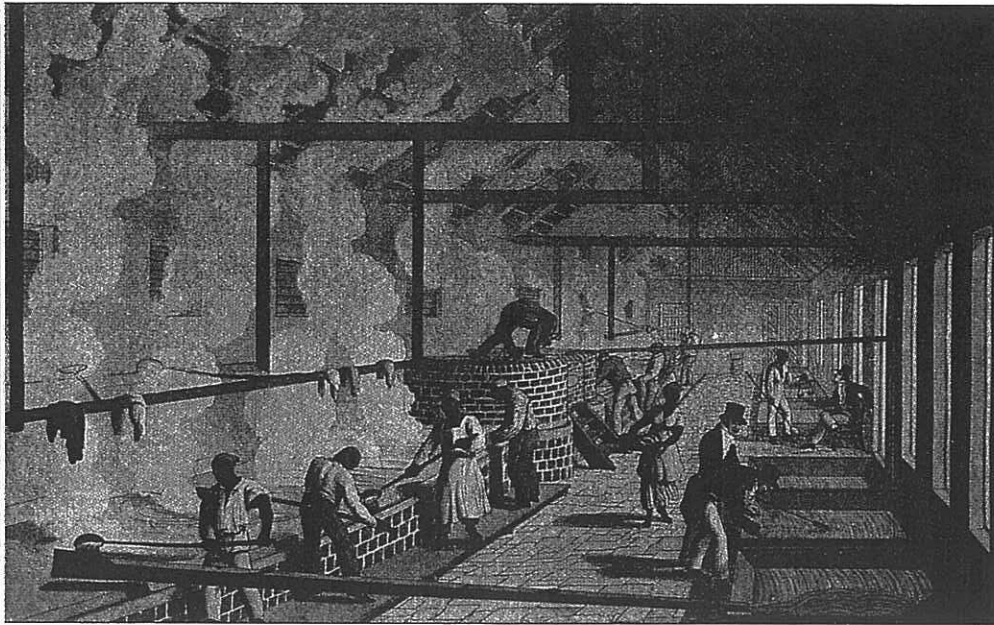


**Christ of the Andes** A huge bronze statue of Jesus Christ stands in the high Andes, on the border between Chile and Argentina. After the two nations finally ended their bitter quarrels over their Andes border in the early 1900s, they erected this statue as a symbol of peace. **Geography** Which countries of South America have borders crossed by the Andes? Why might it be difficult to draw boundaries there?

**Conservatives and liberals.** The ruling groups divided into conservatives and liberals. Conservatives wanted to preserve the old social order and the power of the Catholic Church. They wanted the Church to continue to run the schools. Conservatives opposed freedom of speech and freedom of the press. They viewed such liberties as a threat to law and order.

Liberals wanted to limit the influence of the Church, end its power over education, and reduce its vast landholdings. By redistributing Church land among the poor, they hoped to reduce the gap between rich and





**Making Sugar** Workers, at left, tend large vats where sugar cane was boiled. When the water boiled off, the sugar was stored in the bins at the right. This view shows a sugar cane refinery on the Caribbean island of Antigua in the early 1800s. Cash crops, like sugar or bananas, long dominated the economies of many Latin American nations.

**Interdependence** Why might the economy of a developing country be based on a cash crop?

poor. Liberals supported religious toleration and freedom of the press. Unlike the conservatives, who accepted change slowly, liberals called for rapid reform.

Conservatives and liberals found supporters among every level of society. Usually, conservatives included wealthy landowners, high Church officials, and top-ranking military officers. Liberals included doctors, lawyers, artisans, and people from the lower ranks of the Church and the military. The poor—mestizos and Indians—remained largely outside the debate between the ruling groups.

The power of wealthy members of society and the military over the government slowed the growth of democracy. The gap between rich and poor and the lack of modern industrial development added to the problem.

### **Economic Dependence and Growth**

During the 1800s, Latin American countries faced the challenge of developing their economies. Independence meant that they no longer had to limit trade to Spain and Portugal. The new nations, however, remained economically dependent on Europe.

**Trade.** Latin American countries exported raw materials such as sugar, beef, copper, and

coffee to Europe and the United States. In exchange, they imported manufactured goods.

Spain had prevented its colonies from developing industries because it wanted the colonists to buy its own manufactured goods. Even so, by the early 1800s, some colonies had small workshops that produced textiles and metal goods. After independence, however, cheap British imports flooded into Latin America, forcing these local manufacturers out of business.

In Argentina, the gauchos, or cowboys of the pampas, had been symbols of freedom and independence. By 1837, however, even the gauchos depended on imports from Britain. A British observer wrote:

“ Take his whole equipment—examine everything about him—and what is there not of raw hide that is not British? If his wife has a gown, ten to one it is made in Manchester; the camp-kettle in which he cooks his food, the earthenware he eats from, the knife, his poncho, spurs, bit, are all imported from England. ”

**Foreign investment.** Many Latin Americans, especially liberals, wanted their countries to modernize. They looked to foreigners

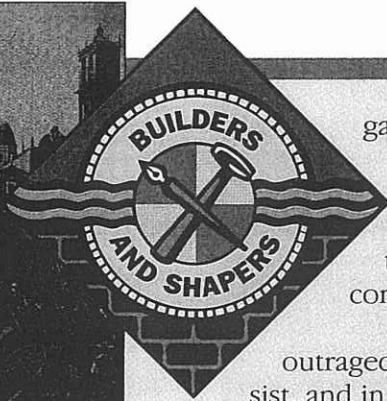
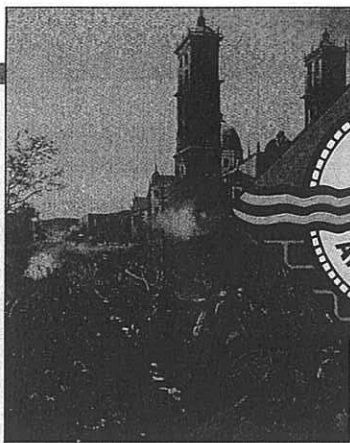
for the capital to build steamboats, railroads, and telegraphs. During the late 1800s, foreigners, especially the British and Americans, invested heavily in Latin America. They dredged harbors and laid out railroad systems. They developed gold, silver, and copper mines.

Improved transportation boosted trade and made some Latin Americans rich. Yet the railroads and harbors did little to create new

industries or improve communications. Instead, they made it easier to ship raw materials to Europe. Most railroads ran from the interior to the nearest harbor. They seldom linked areas within a country.

**Economic imperialism.** Foreign investment did not cover all the costs of modernization. Many Latin American countries borrowed large sums. When they did not repay

## Benito Juárez: Mexican Hero



“To Mexicans,” said a recent Mexican president, “Benito Juárez (buh NEE toh WAHR ehz) is Mexico.” Juárez is a national hero because he fought to win a better life for Mexico’s poor.

Juárez was a Zapotec Indian who grew up in poverty in a remote mountain village. At the age of 12, unable even to speak Spanish, he came to the city of Oaxaca (wah HAH kuh) as a household servant. His employer, however, recognized the boy’s bright mind and helped him to gain an education.

In 1831, Juárez began to practice law. He soon earned a reputation as a defender of the poor. Juárez also entered politics and was elected to a number of local and state posts.

As a politician, Juárez joined with other Mexican liberals in calling for democratic reforms. These reformers seized control of the government in 1855, and Juárez became minister of justice. He helped to write laws that would reduce the wealth and power of the Catholic Church and the army. These laws called for Church lands to be sold. They also

gave Mexicans the freedom to practice religions other than the Catholic faith. In 1857, the reformers incorporated these laws into a new Mexican constitution.

Mexico’s conservatives were outraged. They called on Mexicans to resist, and in 1858, civil war broke out. It was called the War of the Reform.

The War of the Reform ended in 1861 with victory for the reformers. Juárez was elected president of a new constitutional government. He was the first Native American to become president of Mexico.

Juárez continued to fight for reform, but he faced many problems. Years of war had left Mexico divided and in ruins. It also owed large sums of money to foreign powers. For a brief time, France even sent an emperor to rule the country, forcing President Juárez to flee.

Juárez died in 1872, during his fourth term in office. He never achieved all the reforms that he dreamed of. His contribution, however, goes beyond that. Mexicans remember him because he gave the common people new hope. *El Indio*—“the Indian”—as Mexicans call Juárez, also helped restore self-esteem to Mexico’s Indians.

1. What reforms did Juárez call for?
2. **Making Decisions** Do you think that the liberals were justified in seizing power in 1855? Explain.





**Manaus Opera House, Brazil** Manaus, a city deep in the interior, first prospered from 1890 to 1920, during the rubber boom in the Amazon rain forest. Many European immigrants flocked to Manaus, and some made fortunes there. The town grew into a large city with expensive homes, a cathedral, and a majestic opera house (shown here).

**Environment** How might the arrival of many newcomers affect the Amazon region?


these debts, foreign governments threatened military action. In 1861, Mexico suspended payment of its foreign debts. Napoleon III of France then sent 40,000 French troops to Mexico. He installed an Austrian duke, Maximilian, as emperor of Mexico. Supported by French forces, Maximilian ruled Mexico for three years.

During the late 1800s, foreign investment and debts led to economic imperialism. Although foreigners no longer ruled Latin American nations, they still had great influence

over their economies, as you will read in Chapter 23.

**Limited progress.** Foreign investment did help some countries to develop agriculture, mining, and transportation. Argentina prospered from the export of beef and wheat. Chile benefited from a strong demand for copper and for nitrate, which is used in fertilizer. Mexico increased its exports of minerals, sugar, and henequen, a fiber used to make rope.

The arrival of millions of Europeans also spurred economic growth. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, immigrants from Italy, Germany, and Switzerland settled in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile.

Economic development contributed to the growth of a middle class. Although the gap between rich and poor remained, some people hoped that the new middle class would help to create stable government. (  See Connections With Literature, page 806, “The Glass of Milk.” )

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Antonio López de Santa Anna, (b) Juan Manuel de Rosas, (c) conservative, (d) liberal, (e) Maximilian.
- 2. Define:** (a) caudillo, (b) oligarchy.
- Describe three problems that the new nations of Latin America faced after independence.
- (a) How did political rivalries allow caudillos to gain power? (b) How did the goals of conservatives and liberals differ?
- How did foreign debts lead to economic imperialism in Latin America?
- 6. Distinguishing Fact and Opinion** (a) What do you think led Simón Bolívar to declare that “America is ungovernable”? (b) Is his statement a fact or an opinion? Explain your answer.
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** The British colonies in North America had a history of electing legislatures to manage colonial affairs. Write a sentence or two explaining what advantage this may have given the United States over Latin America.

# CHAPTER 21 REVIEW

## Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 1. cabildo    | a. town council                                  |
| 2. hacienda   | b. military strongman                            |
| 3. peninsular | c. official sent from Spain to rule the colonies |
| 4. creole     | d. American-born descendant of Spanish settlers  |
| 5. caudillo   | e. large plantation                              |

## Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) Why did Spain and Portugal sign the Treaty of Tordesillas? (b) How did the treaty affect their claims in the Americas?
- What effect did the encomienda system have on the Native Americans?
- (a) How did the Catholic Church spread European ideas in Latin America? (b) How did the Church absorb ideas from other cultures?
- Why were towns and cities important centers of power in colonial Latin America?
- (a) Why did creoles want independence from Spain? (b) What Enlightenment ideas influenced the struggle for independence?
- What economic progress had Latin American nations made in the 1800s?
- Most events in history have many causes. (a) Describe the causes of unrest in newly independent countries in Latin America. (b) Describe the causes of their economic dependence on Europe.

## Thinking Critically

- Making Global Connections** (a) How was the Columbian exchange an example of cultural diffusion? (b) Describe two ways in which it affected all parts of the world.
- Comparing** (a) How did the lives of the rich and poor differ in colonial Latin America? (b) How did these differences affect the struggle for independence in Mexico?
- Analyzing Information** Explain why each of the following groups opposed change in Latin America: (a) oligarchies, (b) Roman Catholic Church, (c) military.

## Reviewing Chapter Themes

- Mercantilism ruled the economic life of the colonies. (a) Explain how Spain and Portugal tried to benefit from their colonies. (b) Describe how mercantilist goals affected the growth of slavery.
- Social and economic forces affected colonial life in Latin America. Describe the effects of three of the following: (a) social classes, (b) the Roman Catholic Church, (c) family structure, (d) the hacienda system.
- Events outside Latin America often influenced its history. Describe how events in Europe affected the independence movements in three Latin American nations.

## Applying Your Skills

- Analyzing a Quotation** Reread the quotation on page 461. (a) What point was Las Casas trying to make by telling this story? (b) Why might the story have shocked and shamed many Spanish Catholics?
- Reading a Map** Study the maps on pages 459 and 472. (a) Which independent nations were carved from La Plata? (b) Which former Spanish territory is now part of the United States?



## Chapter 22

# LATIN AMERICA IN TRANSITION



**Celebrating Democracy** Peaceful changes in government have been an important trend among Latin American nations in recent years. Free elections are replacing revolts and military coups. These joyful demonstrators are celebrating the election of a new president in Argentina. **Political System** How were most Latin American countries governed after independence?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Political and Economic Development
- 2 Changing Patterns of Life
- 3 Mexico
- 4 Argentina
- 5 Brazil

**T**housands of worshippers listened as Archbishop Oscar Romero spoke the words of the Catholic Mass. Suddenly, gunfire echoed through the cathedral. The congregation watched in horror as a masked gunman fled down the aisle. The archbishop was dead.

The murder of Archbishop Romero in 1980 drew world attention to the civil war that was destroying El Salvador. The gunman belonged to one of the “death squads” that used terror to support the country’s military rulers.

When the civil war began, Romero supported the military government. He believed it would act fairly to restore order. One day, however, he saw soldiers massacre peaceful demonstrators. Later, the government began to arrest and torture priests who it claimed were helping the rebels. These actions led Romero to speak out for human rights. When asked where

he found the courage, Romero replied:

“What sustains me in the struggle is my love for my God, . . . and my love for the Salvadoran people—particularly the poor.”

Not long after that interview, Archbishop Romero lay dead.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

El Salvador was one of many Latin American countries that experienced violence during the 1970s and 1980s. In many countries, the military crushed demands for social justice and change. Although many governments have decided to restore democracy, economic and social problems remain.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Poverty, social inequalities, and rapid population growth have contributed to unrest in Latin America.
- ▶ Efforts to achieve economic growth have met with mixed results.
- ▶ Urbanization and industrialization are changing life in Latin America.
- ▶ Developments in Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil show how different nations have tried to modernize.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

“I’m Gonna Win,” Ignacio Copani  
“The Bosses,” Mariano Azuela

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

# POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

## FIND OUT

How have economic and social problems contributed to instability in Latin America?

What were the causes and effects of revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua?

What steps have Latin American nations taken to end economic dependence?

**Vocabulary** coup d’état, embargo

“Our primary objective is to move from misery to dignified poverty,” declared Jean-Bertrand Aristide as he campaigned for the presidency of Haiti. A parish priest, Aristide had worked among the poor people of Haiti for years. During the campaign, he survived six assassination attempts. Aristide promised justice and openness, and he encouraged Haitians to participate in government. Haitians responded by electing him president.

Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, has often suffered under military rule. Aristide’s election in 1990 was part of the move toward democracy throughout Latin America. Less than a year after Aristide took office, however, the military overthrew him. It took help from the United States military to return him to power in Haiti in 1994. Aristide’s story illustrates the ongoing struggle for democracy in much of Latin America.

## Sources of Instability

By the 1960s, Latin American nations had made little progress toward improving the lives of most of their people. Social inequality and economic hardship led to unrest and instability.



**Social and economic divisions.** The social class structure created deep divisions. Old landowning families and rich industrialists, who dominated society, opposed change. In rural areas, a few families owned the best farmland. Poor peasants and Indians either scratched a living from tiny plots or worked on the estates of large landowners.

As Latin American nations modernized their economies, the gap between the rich and the poor widened. In the growing cities, the middle class often allied itself with the wealthy ruling class. The urban working class, like the rural poor, had little or no education. Wages were low, and jobs and basic services were scarce.

**Political divisions.** Political parties reflected the social and economic divisions. Parties on the political left demanded radical change. Most leftists supported socialism. They wanted to redistribute land to peasants, nationalize industries, and improve conditions for the working class. Leftists found support among urban workers, landless peasants, students, and intellectuals.

By contrast, the political right favored preservation of the traditional social order. Rightists wanted to protect the wealth and power of landlords and industrialists. The right won support among business leaders, large landowners, and military officers.

When unrest threatened law and order, the military would often stage a coup d'état

(koo day TAH). A coup d'état is a revolt, usually by military leaders, against a nation's government.

## Efforts at Land Reform

As Latin American nations modernized, land reform became a major issue. Reformers insisted that poverty was the result of uneven distribution of land. In Guatemala, for example, 2 percent of landowners held two thirds of the land. In Honduras, two thirds of the fertile land was in the hands of just 5 percent of landowners.

Nonetheless, only a handful of countries undertook major land reform programs. During the 1950s, Bolivia redistributed land to thousands of peasant families. At the same time, reformers in Guatemala began a land reform program. That nation's powerful landowning class resisted this effort. The United Fruit Company, which owned huge tracts of land in Guatemala, also opposed land reform. The United States branded the leftist government in Guatemala as communist and supported its overthrow.

Chile's attempts at land reform also failed. In 1969, the socialist president, Salvador Allende (ah YEHN day), increased the pace of land reform that was already underway. A military government seized power in 1973, killed Allende, and reversed most of the reforms.



**A Farmer and His Sons in Nicaragua** Fertile farmland is scarce in Latin America. Governments in some nations seized the land of large estate owners and gave it to landless peasants. Brazil, Colombia, and other nations used another method, opening up new land for farming.

**Interdependence** How might land reform help cities as well as rural areas?

In El Salvador, the "Fourteen Families" held the best land, much of it unused. Demands for land reform were a key cause of El Salvador's civil war, which raged during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1980, El Salvador divided certain large estates among some tenants who had worked the land. However, the political right kept control of the government. (See Connections With Literature, page 806, "Salvador.")

Even when successful, land redistribution solved only part of the problem. For land reform to work, farmers needed seeds, tools, and fertilizer. Otherwise, breaking up estates often caused farm output to drop.

## Revolutionary Change

Protest and economic pressure forced some Latin American governments to make limited reforms. Only Mexico, Cuba, and Nicaragua, however, had social revolutions that brought basic changes. (You will read about Mexico's revolution in Section 3.)

**Cuba.** As elsewhere in Latin America, rural poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment fueled discontent in Cuba. During the 1950s, Fidel Castro, a young lawyer, led a handful of rebels in a long guerrilla struggle against a corrupt dictatorship. In 1959, Castro seized power and has ruled ever since.

After gaining power, Castro declared himself a Marxist and set up a one-party state. Under Castro, Cuba became a socialist nation. He took over foreign-owned sugar plantations and other businesses. These actions led to conflict with the United States. (See Chapter 23.) With aid from the Soviet Union, Castro set up state-owned farms, developed industry, and built housing, schools, and hospitals.

The costs of the revolution were high. Castro imprisoned or exiled his opponents. Thousands of Cubans fled their homeland to escape political repression and loss of personal wealth. In addition, the United States imposed a strict embargo, or complete halt to trade, on Cuba. Cuba then turned to the Soviet Union for aid and for a place to sell its exports.

When the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, Cuba lost its most important trading partner. Faced with economic chaos, Castro introduced a few minor reforms and allowed some free market enterprise. The United States trade embargo, however, hurt both the economy and the Cuban people. Doctors, for example, could not get supplies or medicines to treat patients.

**Nicaragua.** Rebels in Nicaragua overthrew longtime dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. The leftist Sandinistas, who had led the struggle, gained control of the government. Under Daniel Ortega, the Sandinistas introduced land reform, took over many businesses, and organized social programs for the poor. Their actions angered the wealthy elite.

With United States aid, the contras, or forces opposing the Sandinistas, fought a long guerrilla war against the Nicaraguan government. The war cost many lives and disrupted the economy. As the economic situation worsened, the Sandinistas held free elections. In 1990, a new government headed by Violeta Chamorro won power. For the first time in Latin American history, a revolutionary leader peacefully gave up power to the winner of a democratic election.

Since then, Nicaragua has held other peaceful elections. Yet the nation's economy remains weak after years of war. In 1998, a terrible hurricane battered the struggling country, causing further hardships.

## Dictators and Democracy


During the 1960s and 1970s, the Cuban Revolution inspired leftist groups throughout Latin America. Some leftists sought power through democratic means. Others sought power through guerrilla warfare.

In almost every Latin American nation, the military and the right wing responded by seizing power. In Chile, in 1973, General Augusto Pinochet (pee noh SHAY) overthrew that nation's democratically elected president, Salvador Allende. Pinochet accused Allende, a socialist, of leading Chile toward communism. In a brutal crackdown, the military





**A Coup in Haiti.** After the overthrow of a dictator in 1989, Haitians destroyed his supporters' property. Until the end of the 1980s, many Latin American nations were ruled by military leaders. People in most nations were denied free elections, and democracy was weak. **Political System** Why were military takeovers common in the 1960s and 1970s?

ended freedom of speech and arrested, tortured, and murdered many citizens. (  See World Literature, "The House of the Spirits" by Isabel Allende, page 542.)

Years later, after Pinochet had given up power, he was arrested when he traveled outside of Chile. The former dictator faced charges and trial for human rights crimes.

During the 1980s, women's groups, human rights activists, and the Catholic Church pushed for democratic elections. Throughout Latin America, new leaders emerged who declared their commitment to democratic rule. Even Haiti and Paraguay, where dictators had ruled for decades, held elections. To succeed, however, the new governments first had to achieve economic growth and address basic social problems.

### Economic Growth

Since the 1900s, most Latin American economies have grown, although progress

has been made at different rates. World events have had a major impact on their economic development.

**Impact of World War II.** During World War II, the demand for copper, wheat, beef, and other goods from Latin America soared. Latin American nations invested profits from their exports in developing basic industries. Large countries such as Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina constructed steel mills, chemical plants, and oil refineries. They also built factories to produce tools, appliances, and other consumer goods.

**Economic nationalism.** After World War II, a wave of nationalism led to independence movements throughout Africa and Asia. At the same time, economic nationalism grew in Latin America. Although Latin American nations had long been politically independent, they were still economically dependent on industrial nations. A major goal of economic nationalism, therefore, was to replace foreign imports with locally made goods.

To strengthen local industries, governments began to play a major economic role. They placed high tariffs on imports. Then they built and operated many new factories. They also nationalized a number of foreign-owned companies. Despite state ownership of many key industries, most Latin American governments were not socialist. Private enterprise continued alongside state-owned industry.

As industries grew, Latin American nations reduced their dependence on foreign imports. At the same time, they remained dependent on world demand for cash crops such as sugar and coffee, as well as for raw materials such as tin and copper.

## Challenges to Economic Development

What stood in the way of greater economic progress? Many state-owned industries were run inefficiently and produced inferior goods. In addition, foreign-owned corporations took their profits out of the country instead of using them to improve local industries. Also, the national market for manufactured goods was small. When Latin American nations tried to sell their manufactured goods on the world market, they faced stiff competition from more efficient producers. Inflation and rising oil prices created additional problems.

**Population explosion.** The population boom further slowed development. Between 1950 and 1985, the population of Latin America more than doubled. Forecasters predict that it will be more than 597 million by 2010. In order to feed their rapidly growing populations, some Latin American countries must import basic foods. Governments do not have enough money to spend on schools, housing, medical care, and other vital services.

**Debt crisis.** During the 1980s, rising interest rates triggered a crisis that slowed development. Like developing nations elsewhere, many Latin American countries had borrowed heavily to build industries. When a worldwide recession slowed economic activity, the demand for goods fell. The nations of Latin America earned less, but they still owed huge interest payments. They had to spend as much as one third of their foreign earnings on interest payments. As a result, they had less money for new development.

**Recovery.** To recover from the economic crisis of the 1980s, Latin American governments lowered tariffs and encouraged foreign investment. They reduced government spending and sold state-owned industries to private investors. They also negotiated with the industrialized nations to cancel much of the debt they owed. Slowly, some Latin American nations began to make economic progress.

### An Outdoor Health Clinic

This traveling medical team is providing health care for the growing population of Honduras. Honduras also is working to prevent disease by immunizing people and destroying mosquitoes that carry malaria.

**Scarcity** Why do rural people often lack proper health care?





## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Guatemala, (b) Chile, (c) El Salvador, (d) Cuba, (e) Nicaragua.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Salvador Allende, (b) Fidel Castro, (c) Sandinistas, (d) contras, (e) Augusto Pinochet, (f) economic nationalism.
- 3. Define:** (a) coup d'état, (b) embargo.
- 4.** Describe two causes of unrest in Latin America.
- 5.** How did Castro's revolution affect Cuba?
- 6.** How have Latin American nations tried to achieve economic independence?
- 7. Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think attempts at land reform have failed in many countries?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** United States aid to the contras became a subject of debate during the 1980s. Write a letter to your representative in Congress opposing or defending United States support of rebels in other countries. Give three reasons for your position.

## 2

### CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

#### FIND OUT

- What are some effects rapid urbanization has had on Latin America?  
How has life in rural areas changed?  
How are women's lives in Latin America changing?  
What role does the Roman Catholic Church play in Latin America today?

**Vocabulary** liberation theology

In Buenos Aires, a teenage girl listens eagerly to the latest song by Ignacio Copani. Copani's songs provide more than entertain-

ment. Many protest government corruption, overemphasis on material goods, and other social ills. In "I'm Gonna Win," Copani offers a message of hope to young people. He urges them to look

“ For an exit not through the airport,  
or through drugs or death,  
or stealing from others,  
I'm gonna win,  
I'm gonna win . . .  
Laughing at those I don't trust,  
Joining those who tell the truth. ”

For many people in Latin America, the “airport”—migration to the United States—offers an escape from a harsh life. Yet others are determined to seek justice and opportunity at home. Protest singers like Ignacio Copani express the people's desire to build a better future at home.

### Move to the Cities

As in other developing nations, modernization and the population explosion in Latin America have led to rapid urban growth. Population growth indicates progress. As a result of improved health care, people live longer and more children survive to become adults. The population boom, however, strains scarce resources. In rural areas, there is neither enough fertile land for peasants to farm nor enough jobs for young people. As a result, many young people move to the cities to find work.

In the larger, more industrial countries of Latin America, more people live in urban areas than in the countryside. People flock to the large metropolitan areas. With a population of more than 20 million people, Mexico City is one of the largest cities in the world. São Paulo, Brazil, has more than 18 million people. Today, one out of every five people in Brazil lives in either São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro.

**Finding work.** People who move to the cities often have more education than those who remain in rural areas. Still, finding a job is difficult. Modernization has created jobs in offices and industry, but city populations are

growing faster than the number of new jobs. The cost of making interest payments on foreign debt cuts into the amount of money available for investment. Because so many people are in search of work, wages remain low.

Many newcomers earn their living as street vendors, selling food, drinks, and lottery tickets. Others drive taxis. Still others, especially women, turn their homes into workshops where they make clothes, repair shoes, and produce handicrafts. A Colombian woman, Maria Agudelo, described the long hours she worked in her home.

“ When everybody else went to bed, I stayed up at my sewing machine. I learned to do without sleep. Sometimes I would fall asleep when I was sewing, but then I woke up and thought, ‘No, I have to get this done before morning.’ ”

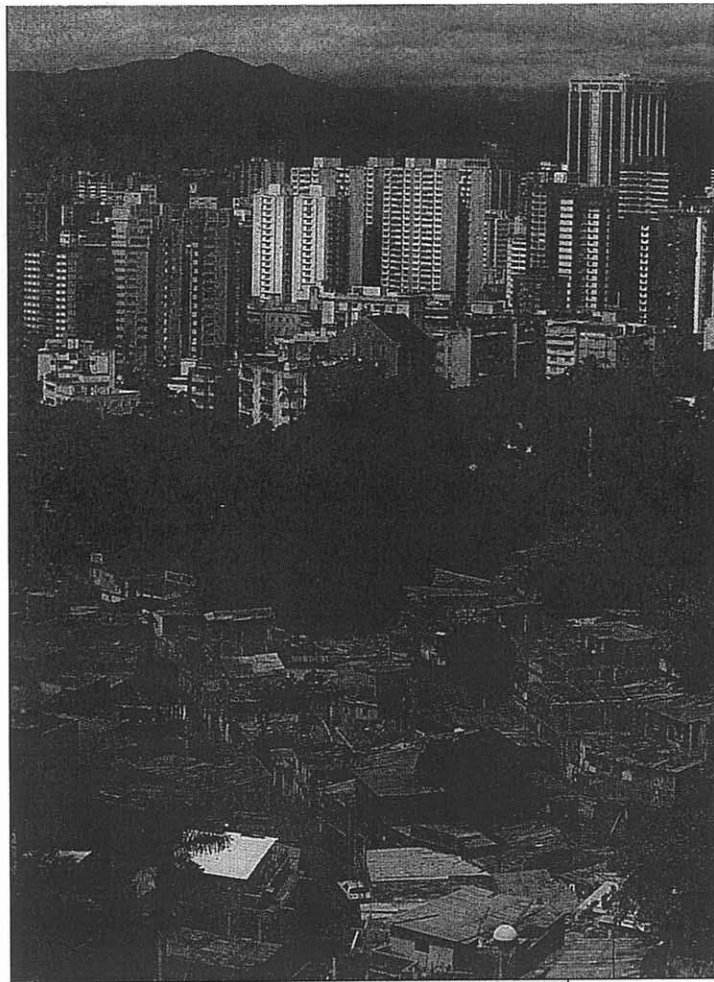
**Self-help housing.** The flood of newcomers has created a severe housing crisis. Sprawling slums have sprung up around every city. They are known by different names, such as *villas miserias* (cities of misery) in Colombia, *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns) in Peru, or *favelas* (shantytowns) in Brazil.

Often, groups of poor people claim vacant land that is too swampy, hilly, or dry to attract housing developers. Using scraps of wood and metal, they build makeshift homes. At first, these self-help settlements lack electricity, running water, sewers, and services such as health clinics or schools. In time, however, the residents improve their homes. They might then set up schools and a police force, or apply to the government for water and other services. Some of these self-help settlements eventually develop into stable communities.

Despite the difficulties of urban life, people continue to flock to the cities. As bad as the slums are, they are often better than the rural life that farmers leave behind.

## Rural Life

In very poor countries, such as Bolivia and Guatemala, the majority of the people still live in rural areas. For most farmers, life is



**Caracas, Venezuela** Makeshift houses cluster in the shadow of modern apartment buildings. In 1930, only three Latin American cities had more than 1 million people. Today, more than 30 cities are this large. In some cities, as many as one fourth of the people live in slums. **Change** Why have cities grown so rapidly in recent years?

extremely hard. On small, half-acre plots, they raise chickens and grow corn, beans, and squash. Their homes are one-room shacks with thatched or tin roofs. Hunger and disease are constant threats. Children attend school for only a few years, if at all. Many never learn to read and write.

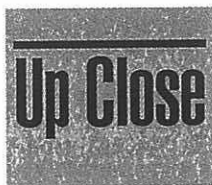
**Tenant farmers.** Landless peasants work on large estates either as tenant farmers or as house servants. In exchange for the labor they provide, they get a small plot of land to farm for themselves. Often, they receive little or no pay. If they need money, they must



borrow it from the landowner. As a result, many tenant farmers remain permanently in debt to the landowner.

**Effects of modernization.** Modernization has brought changes to rural areas. In Mexico and Central America, for example, multinational corporations have bought much of the land. They then set up huge cotton and coffee plantations or cattle ranches. Because they are efficiently operated, these large operations have increased the output of both food and export crops.

These changes have had some negative effects, however. Many commercial farms produce foods for export rather than for home markets. Locally grown food is often scarce, which results in higher food prices. Governments tend to use their limited financial resources to help city dwellers. As a result, they have neglected the needs of rural peasants. The growing gap between rural and urban conditions encourages still more people to migrate to the cities.



### Elvia Alvarado— Peasant Organizer

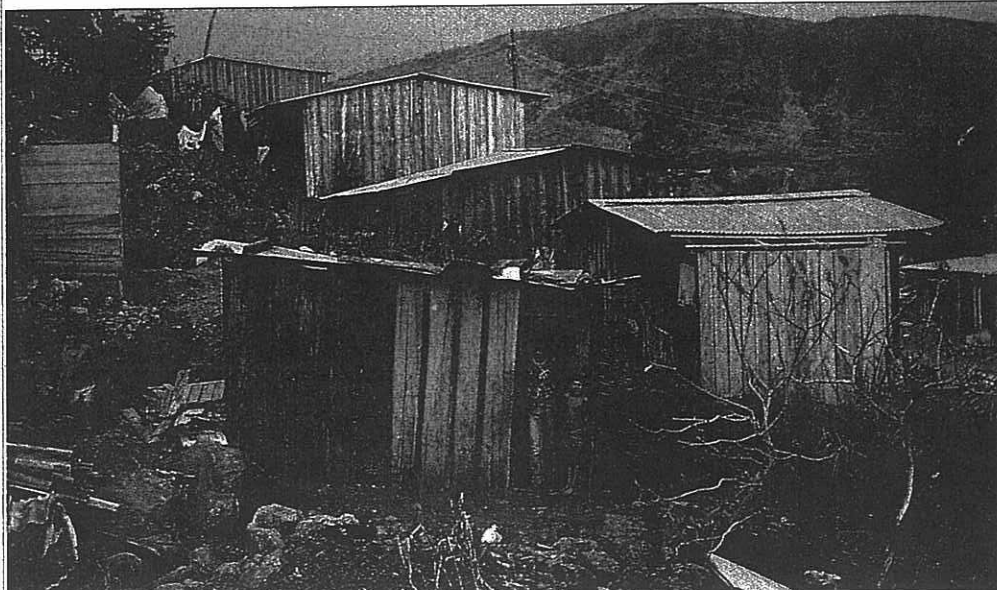
Elvia Alvarado is typical of many *campesinos*, or rural peasants, of Honduras. Even as a child, she was aware of her family's daily struggle to survive:

“My father was a campesino. He didn't have any land of his own, so he worked for the big landowners as a day worker. . . . My mother worked like a mule to take care of us, and we all helped out. We'd get up at three in the morning, in the dark, to help bake bread, make tortillas, feed the pigs, and clean the house. All my brothers and sisters worked hard—the boys in the fields of the big landowners, the girls in the house.”

Alvarado's mother wanted her daughter to get an education. The village school had only two grades. “But I really wanted to learn, so I kept repeating second grade over and over again.”

Despite her eagerness to learn, Alvarado was soon trapped in poverty like so many others in her village. She eventually had six children. At one point, she left her children with her mother and went to Tegucigalpa (tuh goo see GAHL puh), the capital of Honduras. There, she worked as a maid for a rich couple. She earned \$15 a month, which she sent home to her mother and children. Part of her job was feeding the family's dog.

“My boss would give me meat, tomatoes, and oil and tell me to cook it up for the dog. And every time I fed that dog, I'd think of my own children. My children never got to eat meat. The



**The Campesinos** Life is often difficult for Hondurans. About one third of the people are unemployed, and the average worker earns only about \$850 a year. The diet of most poor people consists of tortillas and beans. Malnutrition is a constant threat. **Scarcity** Why might people who live in rural areas lack proper food?

\$15 I sent them was hardly enough to buy beans and corn. But that dog got meat every day. 99

Alvarado eventually returned to her village. One day, she joined a mothers' club that her church organized. There, women met to talk about problems such as getting food and medicine for their children. Although her husband objected, Alvarado began to help other villages to set up similar women's groups. Through her work, she realized that all of the campesinos had the same problem—lack of land.

“If they have any land at all, it's usually the worst land—hilly with poor soils. Because the best land is the flat land the big landowners own. . . . I felt that without land, we'd never get out of our poverty. 99

Alvarado soon became active in a movement to recover land that large landowners had taken from the campesinos in the past. Because she stood up to these landowners, she was arrested and tortured. Alvarado knows that her life is in danger. “The only way they can stop me from what I'm doing,” declares Alvarado, “is by killing me. But that won't stop the others from following my path. In that sense, I'm stronger than they are.” ■

### Changes in Family Life

Throughout Latin America, family ties remain strong in both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, parents, children, aunts, uncles, and cousins usually live nearby. If a relative is sick or hurt, other family members are there to help. They take care of the young children and provide food and other support. Today, as in the past, the man still dominates the family. However, in families where men have died or left the village to find work, women take full responsibility for the family.

In cities, newcomers often find they are completely on their own. If they have an accident or lose their jobs, they face disaster.

Some people, though, move to cities where family or friends have already settled.

**Godparents.** The custom of godparents helps families to forge new links in the harsh urban environment. Frequently, parents ask wealthier or better-educated people to serve as *padrino* and *madrino*—“godfather” and “godmother”—to their children. These godparents provide their godchildren with advice and support.

**Parents and children.** Traditionally, parents have expected complete obedience from their children. At an early age, a boy either learned his father's trade or worked with him in the fields. Girls worked with their mothers both in the fields and at home. They prepared food, carried water, and looked after the younger children. Those traditions survive in rural areas.

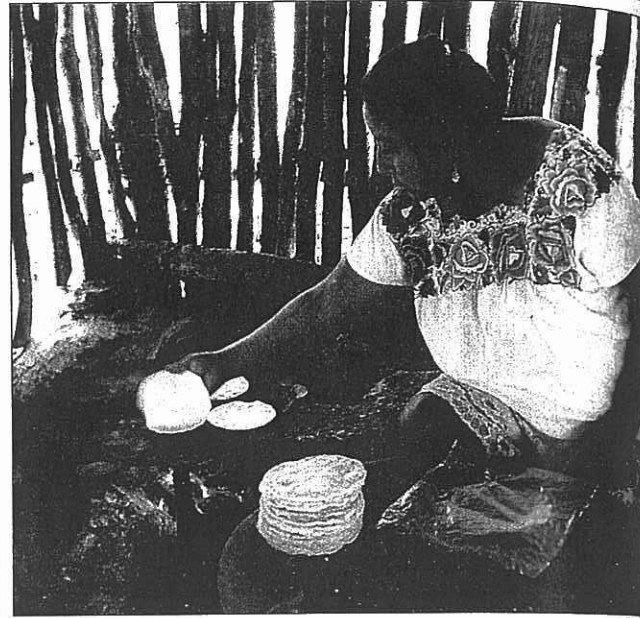
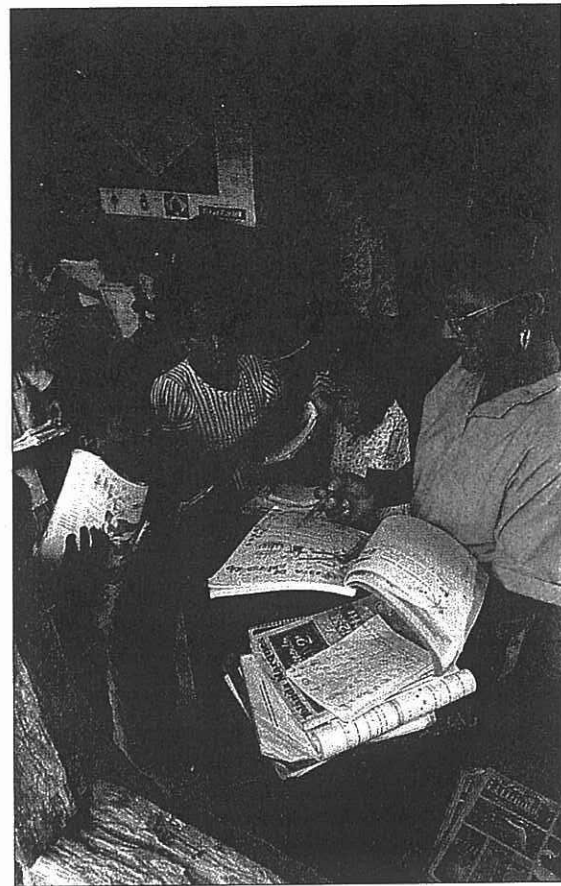
In cities, children have more freedom while their parents are away at work. They also have greater opportunities, because urban schools are better equipped than rural schools. Still, child labor is common among poor urban families. Instead of working in the fields, children work in factories or set up street stands. Some poor children even rummage through the garbage from wealthy neighborhoods in search of food or other useful objects that have been discarded. In the cities, crime and drugs tempt children with the lure of easy money.

### Changing Lives of Women

In rural areas, the custom of *machismo*, or male domination, remains strong. A woman is not expected to question her husband's decisions. Many parents raise their daughters to marry and have children. Because they do not think girls need an education, illiteracy is higher among women than among men in rural areas.

At the same time, women like Elvia Alvarado have helped to organize peasant groups in rural areas. By speaking out on issues, women have gained confidence in their ability to make changes. As a result, a growing number of women now urge their daughters as well as their sons to attend school.





**Women at Work** The teacher at left is instructing pupils in an elementary school in Brazil. At right, a woman in rural Mexico cooks tortillas over a fire. Although more women now work outside the home, the number of women wage earners in Latin America is small compared with the number in Africa and East Asia. **Culture** Why might relatively few Latin American women work outside the home?

In the cities, many women have jobs outside the home. This increases their contact with new ideas and opportunities. Furthermore, their earnings give them a sense of independence. One Peruvian woman noted that in cities, "both spouses express opinions about life in their home."

As more women earn university degrees, they enter professions such as law and medicine. Yet, they often have a hard time finding jobs in societies dominated by men.

### Changing Role of the Church

Today, as in the past, the Catholic Church is a powerful force in Latin America. About 90 percent of the people are Catholic. Traditionally, the Church supported the ruling elite. As a large landowner, it opposed reforms that might threaten its power.

As people moved to cities, their ties with the Church weakened. During the 1960s, popular support for Marxism and revolutionary movements alarmed Church leaders. In response, Church leaders called for new efforts to help the poor. They set up programs to build schools and clinics in poor neighborhoods.

**Liberation theology.** Some members of the clergy felt that those programs did not go far enough. Poverty, they said, is caused by people, not by God. Therefore, they called on the Church to take a more active role in changing the conditions that contributed to poverty. This doctrine became known as liberation theology.

Thousands of priests, nuns, and Church workers moved into shantytowns and peasant villages. There, they helped the poor to organize for change. They also asked

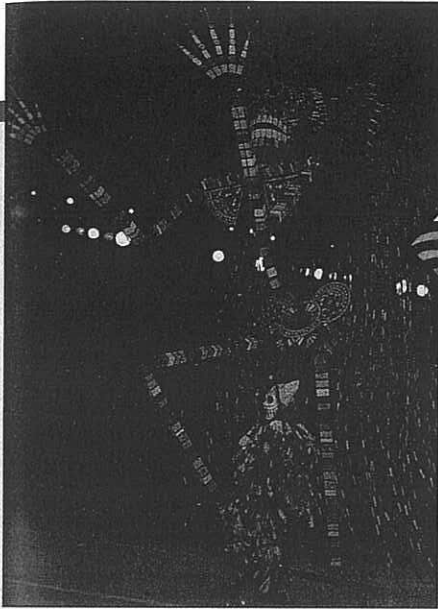
the governments of these nations for sweeping reforms to end social and economic inequalities.

However, liberation theology created divisions within the Church. Many bishops argued that the Church should keep out of politics. The pope ordered priests not to become political leaders. Despite official dis-

approval, however, many clergy continue to organize programs for social reform.

### Migration to *El Norte*

Millions of Latin Americans have reacted to political violence and economic hardship by leaving their homes. Many headed to *El Norte* (The North), their name for the United States.



## Carnival!

“ This is real happiness,  
Not a soul with prejudice,  
Play your ‘mas’ as you like. . . .  
When the steel orchestra  
Blast the rhythm in your ear,  
From Monday ‘til  
Ash Wednesday morning. ”

Ash Wednesday marks the beginning of Lent, the 40 days of penitence and fasting before the Christian celebration of Easter. Each year in the Caribbean and Brazil, the 48 hours before Ash Wednesday become one big party. This tradition is called Carnival.

The Caribbean island nation of Trinidad and Tobago is host to one of the wildest, splashiest celebrations. Its Carnival blends the European, African, and American roots of the “Trinis,” as the people of the nation are called.



The celebration began as a festival of French aristocrats. It was a dignified affair, with carriage promenades and fancy dress balls. After the emancipation of enslaved Africans in 1834, the tempo quickened. The aristocratic Carnival was then combined with the former slave festival of *canbou-lay*. From this blend of traditions evolved today’s yearly series of parades, music, and outdoor dances.

During Carnival, tourists flock to Trinidad and Tobago. The islands hum to the sounds of music. Neighborhood pan-bands, playing specially tuned oil drums, compete for prizes. Other singers perform in a musical style known as *soca*, or social calypso. These songs often criticize government officials or address pressing social problems. For the poor, Carnival is a time to blow off steam by mocking the rich and powerful.

Perhaps Carnival is most memorable for its elaborate “mas,” or masquerade. Some costumes take weeks to make and can weigh as much as 150 pounds. “I guess it’s still an art,” remarked one tired seamstress, “but more and more I think the art has become structural engineering.”

1. How does Carnival represent the mixed European and African heritage of the Trinis?
2. **Making Inferences** How might a celebration such as Carnival benefit the people of a nation or community?



**Political refugees.** Some immigrants were political refugees who sought safety from harsh governments. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans have migrated to the United States since Fidel Castro took power in 1959. Many people from El Salvador and Guatemala fled to the United States to escape civil war and right-wing death squads. During the 1970s, immigrants from Chile, Argentina, and Haiti also headed north to escape brutal military regimes.

**Economic refugees.** Other immigrants were economic refugees who sought a better life. Some had legal papers that entitled them to work in the United States. Others entered the United States illegally. They had to take whatever jobs they could find no matter how low the pay.

Economic refugees send a large part of their earnings to their families at home. In Jamaica, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and other countries, the money sent home by migrants in El Norte is vital to the nations' economy.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** (a) machismo, (b) El Norte.
2. **Define:** liberation theology.
3. Describe two effects of urban growth in Latin America.
4. (a) What traditions affect the lives of women in rural areas? (b) How has urbanization changed the lives of women in Latin America?
5. How has the role of the Catholic Church changed in Latin America?
6. **Evaluating Information** (a) What are the benefits and disadvantages of commercial agriculture in Latin America? (b) Have the benefits outweighed the disadvantages? Explain.
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a letter that a Latin American immigrant to El Norte might send to a friend back home. Explain why you left your country and whether you are meeting your goals in the United States.

3

## MEXICO

### FIND OUT

What were the causes and results of the Mexican Revolution?

How has Mexico tried to build a stable government?

What economic progress has Mexico made?

**Vocabulary** ejido, free trade, maquiladora

“**F**irst, a distant shot; then another, nearer, sharper, echoing like the explosion of a rocket. Then shots in all directions. Round a corner galloped a body of horsemen, their carbines raised. Hoofs struck sparks from the paving stone. Bullets passed whining.”

In the short story “The Bosses,” the Mexican writer Mariano Azuela described the arrival of revolutionary forces in a small Mexican city.

For years, the Del Llano family has used its control of the bank and land to destroy many people. Esperanza and Juanito seize the moment to take revenge. As his sister watches, Juanito sprinkles oil on the store the Del Llanos stole from their father.

“They heard an explosion and black smoke was soon pouring from the doors and windows. . . . from the top floor spirals of smoke rolled up to the clouds. The house of Del Llano Bros., Inc, burned very well.”

Azuela had witnessed violence as a doctor in a revolutionary army. His stories captured the bitterness and anger that led to the Mexican Revolution. The revolution, which lasted from 1910 to 1920, ended years of dictatorship and brought about social reforms.

## Geography and People

Mexico is a varied land. In the north, rugged mountains contain a wealth of minerals. The coastal lowlands and vast Central Plateau provide fertile farmland, as well as rain forests and deserts. In the past, foreigners often controlled key Mexican resources. After the revolution, however, Mexico took control of its own resources.

**Location.** Mexico shares a long border with the United States. Mexicans have mixed feelings about their larger, more powerful neighbor. A Mexican saying laments, "*Pobre Mexico, tan lejos de Dios, y tan cerca de los Estados Unidos!*" ("Poor Mexico, so far from God, and so near the United States!") The two nations have clashed over land in the past. In 1848, Mexico was forced to give up large areas to the United States. During more recent times, Mexicans have faced economic domination by the United States.

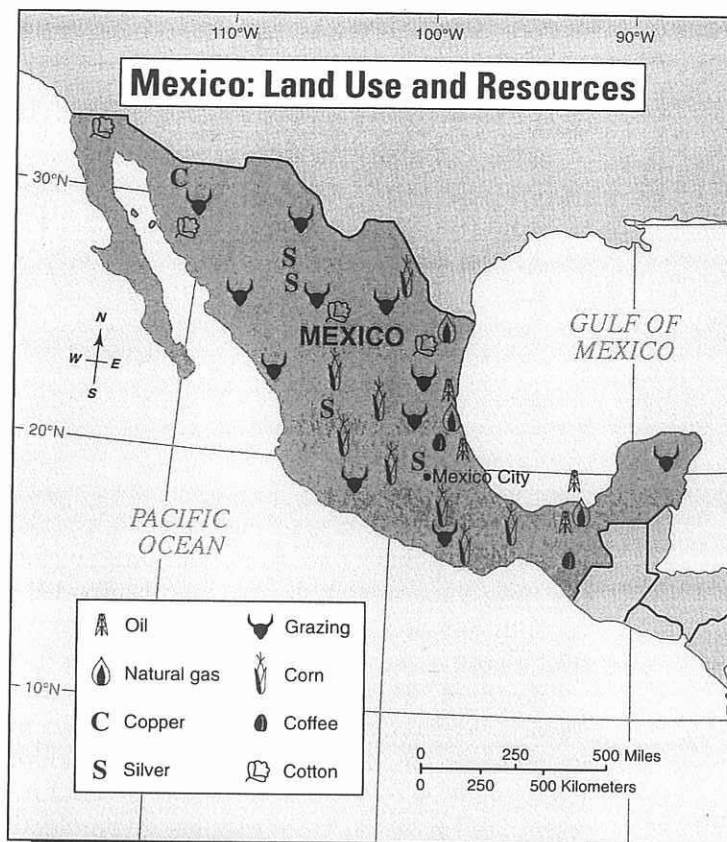
**People.** With a population of 97 million people, Mexico is the world's most populous Spanish-speaking country. Although most Mexicans are mestizos, the country's Native American heritage is still strong. The name Mexico, for example, comes from the Aztec god Mexitli. More than 60 Native American groups, speaking 40 languages, live in rural areas of Mexico. Several million Native Americans speak Na-huatl, the language of the Aztecs.

Rapid population growth poses serious problems for Mexico. About 38 percent of all Mexicans are under the age of 15. As they grow up, they will need jobs, housing, and land, all of which are scarce. As elsewhere, the lack of jobs contributes to poverty and malnutrition.

## Achieving Stability

As in other Latin American nations, caudillos often took power in Mexico during the 1800s. From 1876 to 1911, the dictator Porfirio Díaz ruled Mexico.

**Díaz.** Under the motto "Order and Progress," Díaz introduced programs that were intended to strengthen and modernize Mexico. He invited foreigners to invest in Mexico. They built railroads, developed mines, and



### MAP STUDY

Although Mexico is mainly an agricultural country, it has important mineral resources that have helped its economic growth.

- 1. Location** (a) What two major sources of energy does Mexico possess? (b) Where are these resources found?
- 2. Interaction** What evidence does this map provide about Mexico's farming economy?
- 3. Forecasting** As Mexico becomes more industrialized, what effect do you think this will have on people's lives?

bought land in Mexico. Production of silver, copper, coffee, and sugar soared. At the same time, Díaz set up a strong police force that destroyed rural bandits and political opponents.

Economic growth benefited foreign investors and wealthy Mexicans as well as Díaz and his supporters. For most Mexicans, however, life remained unbearably harsh. Nearly



90 percent of Mexican peasants owned no land at all. They worked on large estates for low wages. Some lived on the edge of starvation.

**Revolution.** In 1910, anger against Díaz and foreign investors exploded. Peasants, workers, and members of the middle class joined together to overthrow Díaz. For almost 11 years, civil war raged across Mexico as various rebel groups battled for power. About 1 million Mexicans died in the fighting.

The revolution almost destroyed Mexico. Yet, in the end, it gave the country a more democratic government and brought lasting social change. In 1917, Mexico adopted a new constitution. It called for giving land to peasants, protecting the rights of workers, and limiting the power of the Roman Catholic Church. The 1917 constitution also gave the government control over resources such as oil and silver.

**Gradual change.** After the revolution, Mexico moved slowly to fulfill the promises in its constitution. During the 1930s, President Lázaro Cárdenas promoted large-scale land reform. He broke up large estates, giving small farms to one third of Mexico's peasants. He also nationalized foreign oil companies.

After Cárdenas, the pace of reform slowed. Economic hard times and pressure from right-wing groups forced some presidents to retreat from reform.

**Political forces.** Although Mexico is a democracy, one party, the Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI), dominated the government from 1929 until 2000. The PRI was successful in part because it paid attention to the needs of many groups. The PRI included industrialists and the middle class as well as farmers and workers. Critics, however, claimed that the PRI used fraud and violence to stay in power.

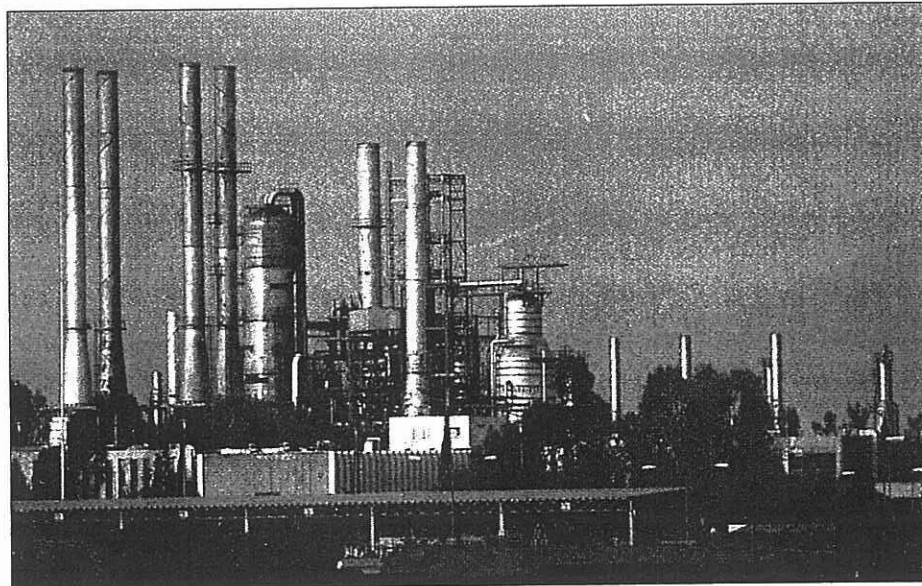
In 2000, the PRI lost Mexico's presidential election for the first time in 71 years. Vicente Fox Quesada from the National Action party (PAN) was elected president.

President Fox faced challenges from small rebel groups, such as the Zapatista National Liberation Army. The Zapatistas are based in the Mexican state of Chiapas (chee AH pahs) in the south. They demand greater rights for Mexico's Native American people.

## Economic Development

After the revolution, Mexico developed a mixed economy. The government owned key industries such as oil refining. Private companies owned other businesses and industries. However, foreign ownership in any company was limited to less than 50 percent.

Mexico has tried to achieve balanced growth by developing both agriculture and industry. Despite setbacks, the economy has



**An Oil Refinery** After Mexico nationalized its petroleum industry in 1938, Britain and the United States boycotted Mexican products. Mexico finally eased this crisis by paying foreign companies for oil wells and refineries.

**Justice** Why did Mexico feel justified in nationalizing its oil industry?

made great progress. Food production has grown, and many Mexicans enjoy a higher standard of living than at any time in the past.

Economic growth has not benefited everyone, however. Poverty remains a major concern, especially in Mexico's southern states. There, the largely Native American population has few economic opportunities.

**Agriculture.** Under its land reform program, the government divided many large haciendas into ejidos (eh HEE dohs), or agricultural communities. Today, about half of Mexico's farmers live in ejidos. They raise crops on the land but cannot sell the land because it is owned by the entire community. Most people on ejidos are subsistence farmers. They produce enough for their families but have little left over to sell.

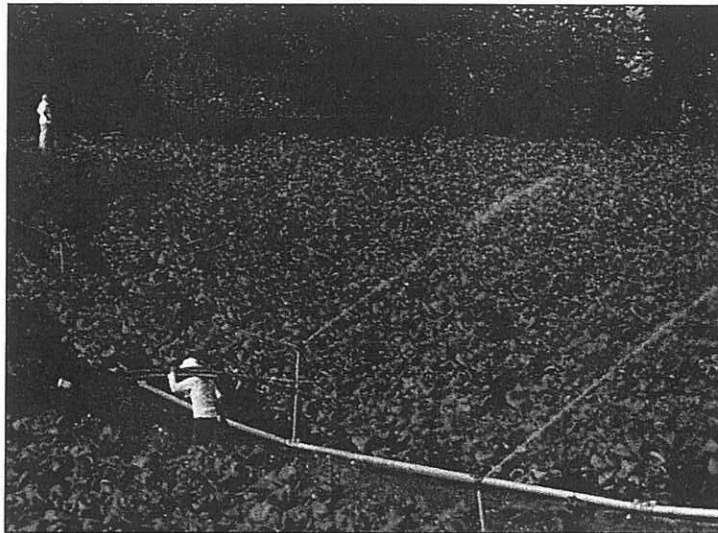
The government has also encouraged the growth of commercial farming. It has provided irrigation to dry areas in the north. Large companies, many of them foreign-owned, have set up commercial farms there. Using modern farm machinery, they produce crops such as fruits and tomatoes for shipment to the United States.

As commercial farming has grown in recent years, Mexican farmers no longer produce enough food for local markets. To feed its booming population, Mexico has had to import food.

The government has made the problem of inadequate food production worse. It has kept down the price for wheat and corn so city dwellers could afford bread and tortillas. However, low prices have discouraged farmers from growing those crops.

**Industry.** For years, Mexico followed a policy of economic nationalism. In order to protect local industries, the government put high tariffs on imports. Mexican factories began producing goods such as cars and appliances. However, many state-owned factories were inefficient and unprofitable. Only the money brought in by oil boom allowed the government to keep them going.

**Oil and debt.** Mexico is the world's fourth largest oil producer. As oil prices rose in the 1970s, Mexico borrowed and spent billions of



**Growing Tobacco in Veracruz** Commercial farms like this use modern methods to raise cash crops. They are more efficient than ejidos, where small plots of land are farmed and technology is often out of date. Even so, most peasants still prefer to farm their own land. **Choice** Why has commercial farming increased Mexico's dependence on imports?

dollars on development projects. In the 1980s, however, oil prices plunged and interest rates on loans rose. This put Mexico in deep debt. To avoid economic collapse, Mexico had to make painful reforms. It cut spending on education and health care and sold off a number of state-owned factories.

**Free trade.** Mexico also moved toward free trade, or trade that had low tariffs and no restrictions. Mexico, Canada, and the United States signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993. NAFTA set up a common market of about 400 million consumers. It ended most tariffs on goods traded among the three countries.

Mexico's trade with its North American partners soon tripled. Mexico also signed free trade agreements with the European Union and other nations.

As many Mexicans hoped, free trade attracted foreign investment and created new jobs. Others, though, worried about the



growing role of the United States and Japan in the Mexican economy.

**Maquiladoras.** Free trade spurred the growth of maquiladoras (mah kee luh DOHR uhs). A maquiladora is a foreign-owned plant in which local workers assemble parts into finished goods. American and Japanese companies built maquiladoras in Mexico to take advantage of low wages paid to workers.

Mexicans flocked to the plants, many of which sprang up along the border with the United States. Despite overcrowded living conditions near the plants, workers were glad to have jobs.

**Ongoing challenges.** Mexico has modernized its economy and raised living standards for some. Still, it faces many economic and social concerns. One of the most pressing is the unequal distribution of income. Another is the low wages that many Mexican workers earn. The government is trying to reduce poverty and has taken steps to provide basic health care to all people. It is also working to reduce the impact of natural disasters such as hurricanes and earthquakes.

### SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Porfirio Díaz, (b) constitution of 1917, (c) Lázaro Cárdenas, (d) PRI, (e) Vicente Fox Quesada, (f) NAFTA.
- 2. Define:** (a) ejido, (b) free trade, (c) maquiladora.
- 3.** Describe three changes that resulted from the Mexican Revolution.
- 4.** What role has the PRI played in Mexican politics?
- 5.** (a) How did nationalism affect Mexico's economic policies? (b) What economic changes has Mexico made since the debt crisis of the 1980s?
- 6. Defending a Position** Do you agree that revolution was the only way to bring about reform in Mexico? Give reasons for your answer.
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Reread the Mexican saying about the United States on page 493. List three facts that might explain why many Mexicans feel this way.

## 4

# ARGENTINA

### FIND OUT

Why were Juan Perón and Eva Perón popular figures?

What role has the military played in Argentina?

What economic challenges does Argentina face?

**Vocabulary** inflation

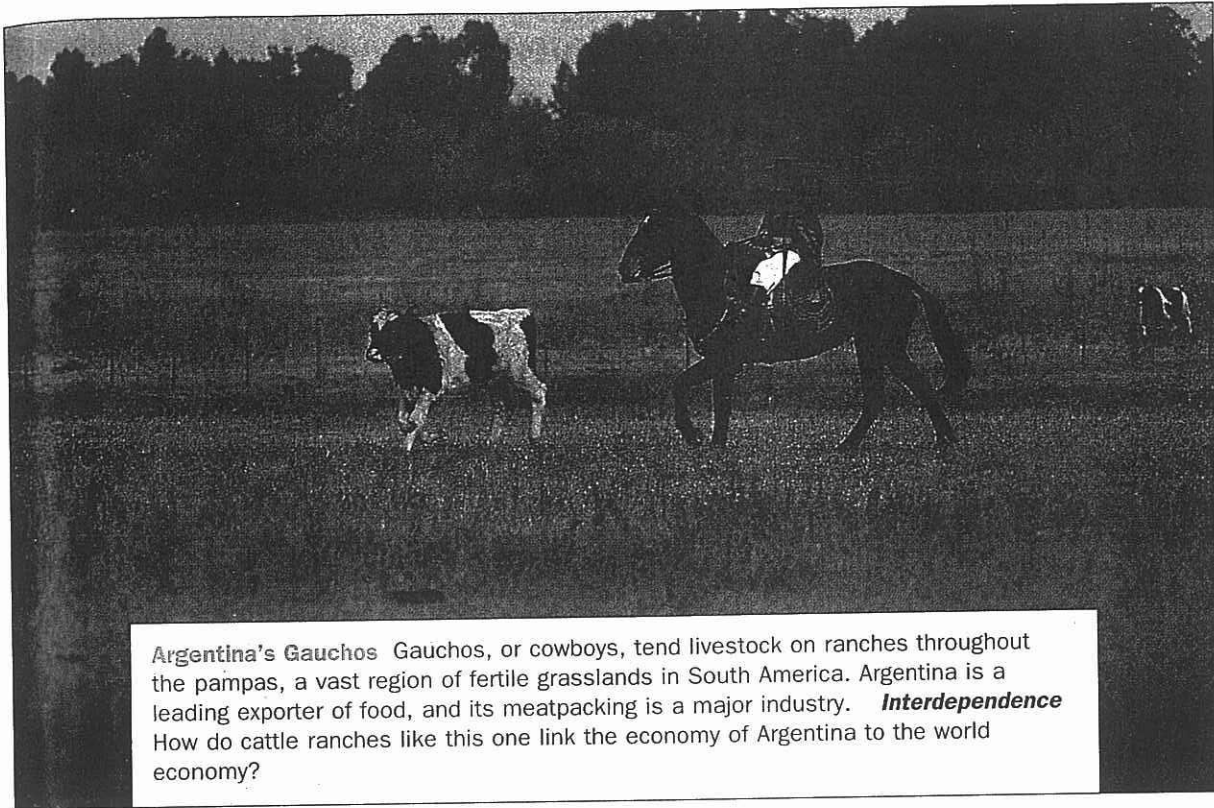
Waving torches above their heads, thousands of workers marched behind a flatbed truck. On it, a huge movie screen showed pictures of a lovely blonde woman wearing elegant silk dresses and diamond jewelry. As the images flashed across the screen, the workers chanted, "*Eva es mi alma y mi corazón.*" ("Eva is my soul and my heart.")

Every year, on July 26, workers march through downtown Buenos Aires to honor Eva Perón, the former First Lady of Argentina. "Evita" had risen from poverty to riches. She tried to help the *descamisados*—"shirtless ones"—as working-class people were called. "You, too, will have clothes as rich as mine," she told the poor women of Argentina.

Although she died more than 40 years ago, Eva Perón remains a symbol of hope to many of Argentina's poor. Today, as in the past, the nation's leaders face the challenge of meeting the needs of its large working class.

### Geography and People

In area, Argentina is one of the 10 largest countries in the world. The pampas, a vast fertile plain, stretches across east-central Argentina. There, farmers grow wheat, corn, and sorghum. Huge cattle ranches, called *estancias*, are also scattered across the grasslands. The riches of the pampas make Argentina a leading exporter of food. In addition to its agricultural resources, Argentina has deposits of lead, zinc, and tin.



**Argentina's Gauchos** Gauchos, or cowboys, tend livestock on ranches throughout the pampas, a vast region of fertile grasslands in South America. Argentina is a leading exporter of food, and its meatpacking is a major industry. **Interdependence** How do cattle ranches like this one link the economy of Argentina to the world economy?

For its large size, Argentina's population is relatively small—only 36 million people. Few people live in the towering Andes in the west or in the bleak southern region of Patagonia. Most people live in the cities. Almost a third of them crowd into Buenos Aires, the capital.

Unlike Ecuador, Peru, and other Latin American nations, Argentina has few Native Americans. Almost all of them were killed in wars with European settlers during the 1800s. Today, about 85 percent of the people in Argentina are of European origin. Most have Spanish or Italian roots. Others trace their families to Germany, Britain, and Eastern Europe. Some immigrants came from Syria, Lebanon, and other parts of the Middle East.

About half of Argentina's population belongs to the middle class, a large percentage for Latin America. Members of the middle class are highly educated and have helped the economy to develop. Many other Argentinians, however, live in poverty in urban or rural areas.

## Political Development

Unlike most countries in Latin America, Argentina enjoyed fairly stable governments from the 1850s to 1930. Since 1930, however, it has faced problems that are common to much of Latin America, including political violence and military rule.

**Perón.** In 1946, a former army colonel, Juan Perón, was elected president. Perón appealed to urban workers by promising higher wages. He won the support of other groups by promoting economic nationalism. As president, he nationalized the railroads, reduced foreign control of businesses, and increased workers' wages.

Eva Perón did much to increase her husband's popularity among the working class. She used persuasion and threats to get "donations" from rich landowners and industrialists. She then gave the money to the poor or used it to build schools and hospitals, as well as to enrich herself. A strong supporter of women's rights, Eva Perón helped women in Argentina win the right to vote in 1947.



Under Juan Perón, the lives of working-class people improved. However, the costly new programs brought the nation to the point of bankruptcy. In addition, Perón severely restricted civil rights and his government was corrupt. Eva Perón's early death in 1952 was an added blow to her husband's popularity. Even as working-class people mourned Evita, the Church and other groups were attacking Juan Perón. As his popularity faded, the army seized power in 1955 and forced Perón into exile.

**The military in power.** Between 1955 and 1983, the military ruled Argentina—sometimes directly and sometimes by controlling elected leaders. The military regularly overthrew civilian governments.

Like other Latin American countries, Argentina suffered from political turmoil during the early 1970s. Left-wing terrorists kidnapped government officials and business leaders. Right-wing death squads killed labor and student leaders. To stop the violence, the army invited an aging Perón to return from exile. He won office in 1973. When he died

the following year, his vice president—and new wife—Isabel Perón, assumed office. She became the first woman in the Americas to become a nation's president.

**The "dirty war."** In 1976, as terrorist attacks worsened, the army again seized power. It launched a brutal campaign, known as the "dirty war," against workers, students, and anyone else it decided was an "enemy of the state." Soldiers arrested and tortured thousands of men and women. As many as 30,000 people "disappeared." They were taken from their homes and never seen again.

The violence turned many people against the nation's military leaders. As the economy faltered, the military launched a different kind of war to regain popular support. In 1982, they seized a cluster of windswept islands about 300 miles (500 km) off the coast of Argentina. Since the 1830s, Britain had ruled the Falkland Islands. Argentina argued that it had an earlier claim to the islands, which they called Las Malvinas.

At first, nationalism led the people to rally behind their leaders. When the British quick-

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**At the Plaza de Mayo** In the early 1980s, families of the "disappeared" gathered each week to ask for news. As one mother explained, "When Jorge vanished, my first reaction was to rush out desperately to look for him. . . . Then I realized we had to look for all of them and that we had to stand together because together we were stronger." **Human Rights** Why did these protesters wear masks?



ly regained control of the islands, however, the military lost popular support.

**Return to democracy.** In 1983, democracy was restored under an elected president. At the same time, pressure grew from the families of those who had “disappeared” in the “dirty war.” Every week, mothers who had lost sons and daughters marched in the main plaza of Buenos Aires. The government, however, prosecuted only a few people for crimes committed during military rule.

In 1989, voters chose a new president. For the first time since 1928, power passed from one civilian leader to another without military interference. Since then, Argentina has held other peaceful elections. Still, democracy remains frail in Argentina. In 2001, an economic crisis rocked the nation. Amid widespread protests, one president was forced to resign, and another was quickly elected.

### Economic Challenges

So far, Argentineans have shown a commitment to democracy despite severe economic crises. The first crisis occurred during the 1980s, when runaway inflation hurt workers and employers alike. Inflation is a period of sharp increases in prices. In 1985, inflation reached almost 1,000 percent. This meant that on average, items that cost \$10 one year cost more than \$100 the next year.

Like other Latin American countries, Argentina also faced a huge foreign debt. To battle inflation and ease the debt crisis, the government took drastic steps. It froze wages and prices and laid off thousands of government workers. It also sold off the national airline, railroad, and telephone companies to private industries.

These tough reforms reduced inflation, although unemployment stayed high. During the 1990s, the economy improved. Then, a new economic crisis erupted. The economy shriveled, and the country defaulted, or failed to repay, its loans. This disaster led to a new set of reforms. The government had to make deep budget cuts and reduce services to its citizens. It imposed other painful and unpopular measures to restore trust in the nation’s finances.

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** Falkland Islands.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Juan Perón, (b) Eva Perón, (c) “dirty war,” (d) Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo.
- 3. Define:** inflation.
- 4.** What actions did the Perón government take to help the poor?
- 5.** (a) Why did the military seize control in Argentina? (b) What events led to the restoration of democracy?
- 6.** Describe two steps that Argentina has taken to overcome its economic problems.
- 7. Forecasting** (a) Do you think that democracy will survive in Argentina? (b) What events might endanger democratic rule?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Choose a partner. Each of you will write one act of a two-act skit about Argentina’s history. The first act should present the rule of Eva and Juan Perón. The second act should show military rule and Argentina’s “dirty war.”

## 5

### BRAZIL

#### FIND OUT

- Why is Brazil an ethnically and culturally diverse country?
- What political and economic problems has Brazil faced since the 1930s?
- What difficult choices does Brazil have to make?

**L**ike many Brazilians, Benedita da Silva came from a poor family. When she was a child, she and her family migrated from the country to a favela, or shantytown. While living in the favela, da Silva held a variety of jobs, from market porter to house servant. At the same time, she worked to improve conditions where she lived. She said:





**Carnival in Rio** Many Cariocas, as the people of Rio are called, have African ancestors. African rhythms and music inspired Brazil's national dance, the samba. During a four-day carnival each year, "samba societies" parade into the city's Sambadome. These societies spend all year preparing their costumes and floats.

**Diversity** What are the four main ethnic groups of Brazil?

“As a black and a woman, I have a special responsibility to speak out on subjects that I know about—against racial discrimination, against the unequal rights of women, and against the injustices suffered by the poor.”

In 1987, da Silva became the first black woman elected to Brazil's Congress. There, she continued to press for programs that would meet the needs of both Brazil's many poor and its culturally diverse population.

### Geography and People

Brazil is a huge country that covers half of South America. Size and differences in resources have contributed to regionalism.

**Regions and resources.** The first Portuguese colonists settled along the fertile northeastern coast. Today, that region still produces important export crops such as coffee, cocoa, and sugar. Farther inland in the northeast lies the *sertão* (sair TOWNING), a dry region covered with scrub. Most of the people who live here are desperately poor. The huge Amazon Basin, as you have read, is heavily forested and sparsely settled.

The southeast is rich in mineral resources such as iron, nickel, and tin. Its coastal industrial cities, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, have huge populations. Every year, millions of Brazilians migrate to the cities of the south hoping to find jobs.

**Diversity.** With more than 162 million people, Brazil has the fifth-largest population in the world. Its people belong to four main groups. Native Americans, the original inhabitants, today make up less than 1 percent of the population. Many live in isolated communities in the northern interior.

Blacks, the descendants of enslaved Africans, make up half of Brazil's population. Their religious beliefs, food, and music have enriched Brazilian culture. Portuguese colonists and later European immigrants added to the cultural diversity of Brazil. In more recent times, many Japanese have arrived. Today, Brazil has the world's largest Japanese community outside of Japan.

**Inequalities.** Brazil is a land of extremes. In gleaming cities, the rich and middle class live comfortably, attend fine schools and universities, and get medical care at modern hospitals. Yet nearby, millions of people in favelas survive in desperate poverty. They live in makeshift shacks, without electricity, running water, or sewers. Another huge gap divides rural poor and city dwellers.

Although the Brazilian constitution forbids discrimination, racism exists. Darker-skinned people have a harder time getting jobs than whites. People of mixed descent experience less discrimination than blacks do.

## Dictatorship and Development

A popular Brazilian saying states: "Brazil is a country of the future, and always will be." This saying expresses both Brazil's great potential and its failure to achieve its promise. Over the years, both military dictators and elected leaders have tried to develop Brazil's valuable economic resources.

**Economic diversity.** Brazil ranks among the world's ten largest economies. Today, it has a diverse economy. Until the 1930s, though, it depended on a single export crop—coffee. The dictator Getúlio Vargas, who ruled from 1930 to 1945, tried to lessen Brazil's dependence on one crop by attracting new industries. Since then, with strong government support and abundant resources, Brazil has become a major industrial nation.

During the 1950s, an elected president, Juscelino Kubitschek (koo bih chehk), set out to pack "fifty years of progress in five." He undertook an ambitious program to build highways, universities, airports, factories, and hydroelectric plants. He also created the new capital city of Brasília to encourage settlement of the Brazilian interior. (See the feature on page 6.)

Kubitschek's policies left massive debt. As the economy faltered, unrest grew. In 1964, the army seized power. The military then banned political parties and jailed critics.

**Brazil's "miracle."** To revive the economy, the generals welcomed foreign investment and developed new industries such as steel, chemicals, and heavy machinery. They supported

plans to develop Brazil's vast interior, including the Amazon rain forest. To end dependence on foreign oil, they supported the building of hydroelectric plants. Brazil also pioneered in developing gasohol, a fuel made from sugar cane. These policies led to an economic boom known as the "Brazilian miracle."

Although the Brazilian miracle helped the middle and upper classes, most Brazilians benefited little. To attract foreign investors, the government kept wages low. While middle-class people earned comfortable incomes, industrial workers struggled to make ends meet. Although the government introduced several programs to help the poor, they were too limited to have much effect. In the favelas, people suffered from disease, malnutrition, and illiteracy.

## Difficult Choices

During the 1980s, the military slowly turned the government over to elected officials. In 1990, Brazil got its first directly elected president in 29 years. Since then, Brazil has held regular elections without military interference.

**Debt and spending.** Debt, however, remained a serious problem. Interest payments alone took a huge share of the nation's earnings. Inflation, too, was a problem.

To ease inflation, the government made painful reforms, such as cutbacks in spending. It also pushed privatization. The reforms helped the economy recover. However, the great inequalities in wealth among Brazilians remained.

Today, almost one third of Brazil's population is under the age of 15. Many young people never attend school. Even those who do often cannot find jobs or lack the skills needed in an industrialized economy. The government faces difficult choices. Should it spend limited resources on schools and services to the poor? Or should it invest in programs to expand the economy, which, in turn, would provide jobs for the urban poor?

**Environment.** Brazil hopes to reduce population growth through family planning. The government has also encouraged people to move from the crowded coastal cities into the





**Off to Work at a Paper-Making Factory** The Brazilian government encourages new settlements in the Amazon Basin, the site of the factory where these men work. The rain forest environment is fragile, however. Clearing land for farms reduces the rain forest, and farming wears out the soil quickly. New logging and lumber mills are destroying large parts of the rain forest. **Choice** Why do you think Brazil encourages its people to settle in the Amazon Basin?

interior. There, they can help to develop Brazil's rich forests and mineral resources. Development of the interior has improved Brazil's economy. Minerals, beef, and timber from the Amazon region can be sold on the world market.

Development has environmental costs, however. Farmers have cut down and burned forests, causing damage to the Earth's atmosphere. In some areas, efforts to farm unsuitable soil has created desertlike conditions. Settlers have spread diseases to the Indians of the rain forest and undermined their cultures. José Antonio Lutzenberger, a Brazilian specialist on the environment, has warned:

“We are demolishing, poisoning, destroying all life systems on the planet. We are acting as if we were the last generation on the planet.”

Today, Brazilians are looking for ways to modernize without taking such a high toll on the environment.

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Juscelino Kubitschek, (b) Brazilian miracle.
- Describe two ways in which geography has affected Brazil.
- (a) What groups make up the population of Brazil? (b) What problems do darker-skinned people in Brazil face?
- (a) How has Brazil tried to develop its economy? (b) How has economic development brought both benefits and disadvantages?
- 5. Evaluating Information** (a) What do Brazilians mean when they call Brazil “a country of the future”? (b) What obstacles does Brazil face in achieving its potential?
- 6. Writing Across Cultures** Like Brazil, the United States must make painful choices on how to spend its limited funds. Write an editorial explaining whether you think the government should cut aid to schools to reduce its debt. Give reasons for your opinion.

# CHAPTER 22 REVIEW

## Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. coup d'état         | a. doctrine that calls for the Church to take a more active role in changing the conditions that contribute to poverty |
| 2. embargo             | b. complete halt to trade  |
| 3. liberation theology | c. economic cycle marked by a sharp increase in prices   |
| 4. maquiladora         | d. foreign-owned plant where local workers assemble parts  |
| 5. inflation           | e. revolt by military leaders against a government   |

## Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) How do the goals of leftists and rightists differ? (b) Why did the military seize power in many Latin American nations?
- (a) What were the goals of land reform? (b) What groups opposed land reform efforts?
- What conditions contribute to rural poverty in Latin America?
- How has its location affected Mexico's economic development?
- (a) How did the military violate human rights in Argentina? (b) What challenges have democratic governments in Argentina faced in recent years?
- The nations of Latin America have taken different paths to modernization. (a) Describe one political or economic challenge that has faced either Mexico, Argentina, or Brazil. (b) Explain what steps that country took to meet that challenge.

## Thinking Critically

- Analyzing Ideas** "Our economy is doing well, but our people are not," said the leader of one Latin American nation. Why do many people in Latin America continue to live in poverty despite economic progress?
- Making Global Connections** (a) Why do many people in Latin America migrate to El Norte? (b) Compare their reasons with the reasons that have led other immigrants to come to the United States.

## Reviewing Chapter Themes

- Mexico, Cuba, and Nicaragua experienced revolutions that led to major social change. (a) Explain the causes and goals of the revolution in one of these countries. (b) Describe the results of the revolution, evaluating whether or not it achieved its goals.
- Latin American nations have met with limited success in their efforts to develop their economies. (a) Describe the goals and results of economic nationalism. (b) Explain one obstacle to economic growth.
- Modernization is changing life in Latin America. Explain how the growth of cities and other developments have affected two of the following: (a) the family, (b) women, (c) the Catholic Church.

## Applying Your Skills

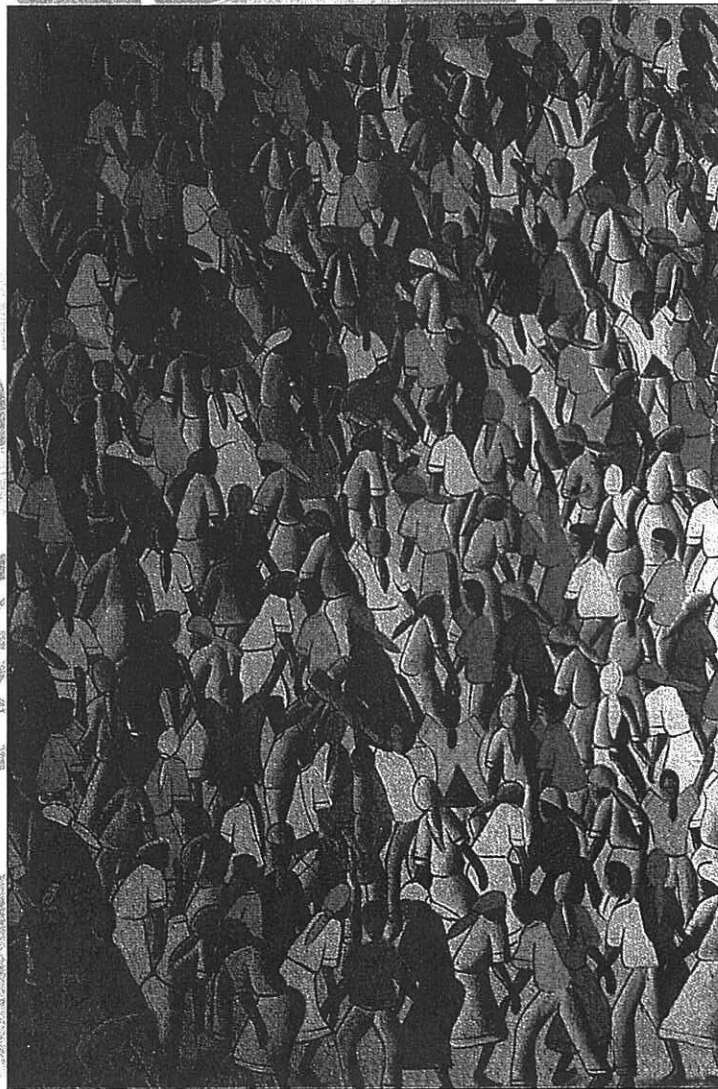
- Using Your Vocabulary** Use the Glossary on pages 794–803 to review the meaning of the following terms: *land reform*, *nationalize*, *privatization*, *democratization*. Use each term in a separate sentence about Latin America.
- Analyzing a Quotation** During the Díaz era, a Mexican saying stated, "Mexico is the mother of foreigners and the stepmother of Mexicans." (a) Restate the main point of this saying. (b) What situation gave rise to this saying? (c) How did the Mexican Revolution change that situation?

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## Chapter 23

# LATIN AMERICA IN THE WORLD TODAY



**A Swirling Crowd** Drumming musicians seem to disappear in this crowd of Haitians. Painters from Haiti, many of them self-taught artists, have become famous for their imaginative style and colorful scenes.

**Fine Art** Why do you think the artist has not shown individual faces or expressions?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Latin America and the United States
- 2 Regional and Global Issues
- 3 Literature and the Arts

**D**ay after day, the workers sweated in the tropical heat. They blasted through mountains and hacked through jungles. More than 25,000 workers from Central America and the West Indies helped clear a “path between the seas.” On August 15, 1914, the Panama Canal opened.

In the United States, people hailed the Panama Canal. The United States had organized and financed the project. It had even engineered a revolution to win rights to the land where the canal was dug.

Latin Americans had mixed feelings about the canal. Fifty years after it opened, Pablo Neruda, Chile’s Nobel Prize–winning poet, wrote:

“Panama, your geography  
granted you  
a gift that no other land was  
given:  
two oceans pushed forward to  
meet you . . .  
And what happened? little  
sister, they cut  
your figure as if it were cheese  
and then ate and left you  
like a gnawed olive pit.”

In "History of a Canal," Neruda criticized the United States for using its power and wealth to carve up Panama. The building of the Panama Canal, however, was only one action of the United States that provoked fierce debate in Latin America.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

Since the 1800s, the United States has taken an active role in Latin America. Latin Americans have struggled to limit North American influence in their lands. Today, the nations of the Western Hemisphere emphasize cooperation over conflict as they try to solve urgent problems and build a better future.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Differing interests have sometimes led to conflict between Latin American nations and the United States.
- ▶ Through regional organizations, nations of the Western Hemisphere have worked to resolve issues and promote cooperation.
- ▶ The literature and arts of Latin America blend Indian, African, and European traditions.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter selections from the following works.

- "History of a Canal," Pablo Neruda
- "Sensemayá," Nicolás Guillén
- "Social Commitment and the Latin American Writer," Mario Vargas Llosa
- "Flowers and Songs of Sorrow," Aztec poet

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

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# LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES

## FIND OUT

How has United States influence in Latin America grown since the 1800s?

What economic interests have shaped relations between the United States and Latin America?

How did the Cold War affect relations between Latin America and the United States?

What ties link Puerto Rico and the United States?

When the nations of Latin America won their freedom, they looked to the United States as a model for democratic government. Simón Bolívar called the United States a "model of political virtues and moral enlightenment unique in the history of mankind." Yet, by the early 1900s, Latin American admiration for the United States had turned to resentment. To many Latin Americans, the United States had become the "Colossus of the North"—a giant power that threatened their independence.

## An Expanding Power

In the 1820s, Spain prepared to reconquer its former American colonies. The new nations of Latin America therefore welcomed the Monroe Doctrine, issued by United States President James Monroe in 1823. In it, Monroe declared that "the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

As the United States expanded, Latin Americans no longer saw the United States as a



defender of their liberties. Instead, they began to fear its power in the hemisphere.

**Mexican War.** In 1845, the United States annexed Texas, which had once belonged to Mexico. A year later, war broke out between Mexico and the United States. When the Mexican War ended in 1848, Mexico had to give up almost half of its territory to the United States. The war left Mexicans with a lasting bitterness toward the United States.

**Spanish-American War.** As the United States industrialized, it extended its influence in the Caribbean and Central America. During the 1890s, Cuban patriots were battling for in-

dependence from Spain. In 1898, the United States declared war on Spain and joined the fighting. It promised that once peace was achieved, it would "leave the government and control of Cuba to its people."

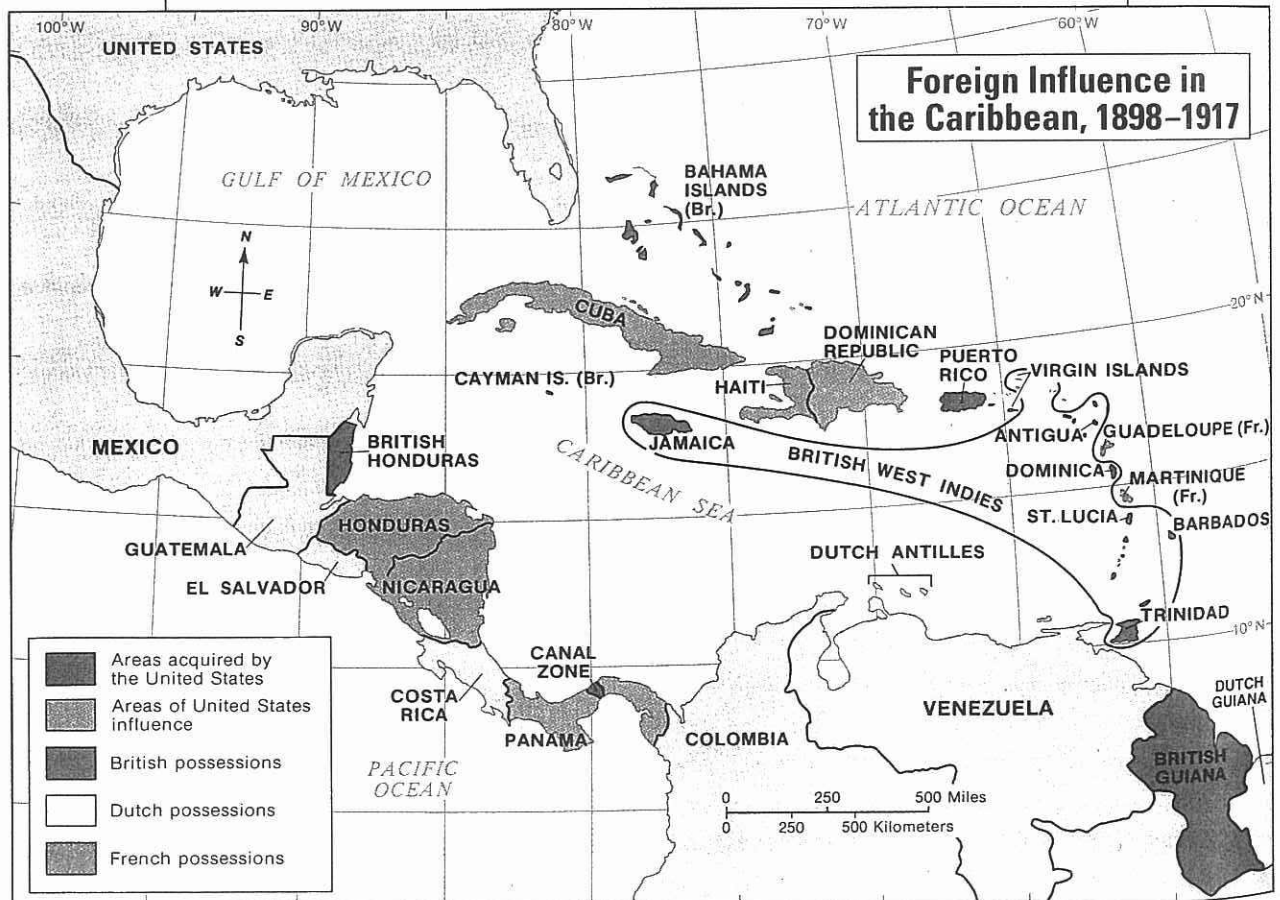
The Spanish-American War ended in victory for the United States. Cuba did gain its independence, but the United States forced Cuba to include the Platt Amendment as part of its new constitution. Under the Platt Amendment, the United States claimed the right to intervene in Cuban affairs.

As a result of the war, the United States also gained Puerto Rico and the Philippines

### MAP STUDY

After the Spanish-American War, the United States played a major role in the affairs of the Caribbean nations.

- 1. Region** Which two areas were acquired by the United States?
- 2. Interaction** (a) In what part of Central America did the United States acquire land? (b) Why did the United States want this area?
- 3. Understanding Causes and Effects** How did growing United States investments in the Caribbean and in Central America result in increased intervention in those areas?



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from Spain. Many Latin Americans felt that the United States had fought the Spanish-American War to win new territories.

### "Yankee Imperialist" or Good Neighbor?

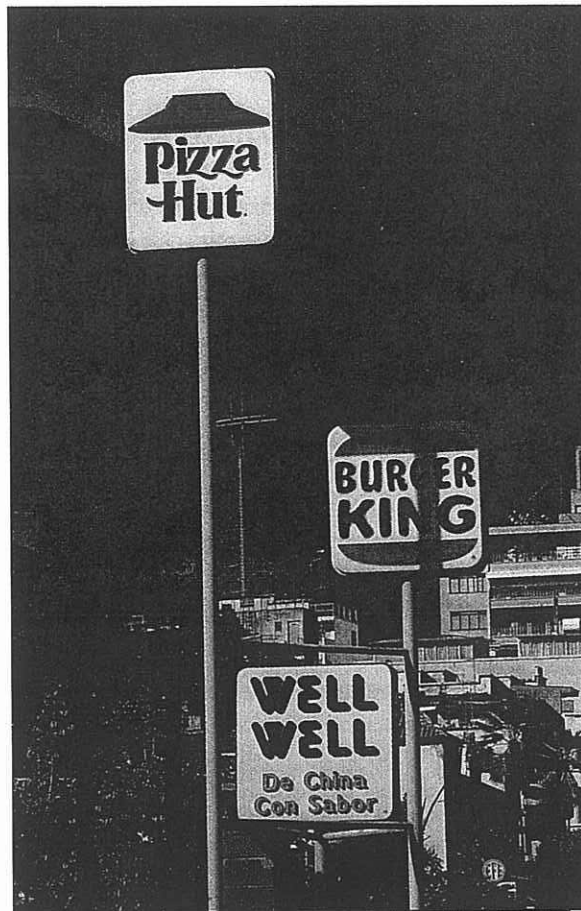
During the early 1900s, the United States continued to intervene in Latin America. Its actions increased Latin Americans' distrust and fear of their northern neighbor.

**Panama Canal.** From the late 1800s, the United States had expressed an interest in digging a canal across Panama, which was then part of Colombia. President Theodore Roosevelt offered Colombia \$10 million for a strip of land across the Isthmus of Panama. When Colombia rejected the offer, Roosevelt encouraged rebels in Panama to declare Panama's independence. In 1903, the new nation of Panama granted a 10-mile wide "canal zone" to the United States. Roosevelt's actions heightened Latin American fears of the "Yankee menace."\*

**Investments and intervention.** In the years that followed, United States investments in Latin America soared. North Americans bought sugar cane plantations in Cuba and copper mines in Chile. They built railroads and factories in Brazil and Argentina. In Mexico and Venezuela, they invested in oil wells. These investments benefited the wealthy, but not the majority of people in Latin America.

Financial interests led the United States to intervene in Latin America. In the early 1900s, the Dominican Republic was unable to pay its debts to American banks. The United States occupied the island, took over collection of its customs duties, and repaid the loans. United States marines remained in the Dominican Republic until 1924.

American forces also occupied Nicaragua and Haiti, and intervened in the affairs of Honduras six times. In each case, they stepped in to protect American lives and



In a Caracas Neighborhood Today, brightly colored signs advertising fast food restaurants rise against the background of Caracas's green hills. The United States is a major trading partner of Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and most other Latin American nations. **Culture** Why might Latin Americans dislike signs like these?

property or to support a government that favored American interests.

Most Latin Americans resented "Yankee imperialism." A plantation owner in Nicaragua wrote to officials in Washington:

“Today, we are hated and despised. . . . This feeling has been created by employing American marines to hunt down and kill Nicaraguans in their own country.”

**Changing directions.** The growth of anti-American feelings and the beginning of the Great Depression led the United States to seek better relations with Latin America. In

\*By the terms of a treaty signed in 1978, the United States turned over full control of the canal zone to Panama on December 31, 1999.



1933, President Franklin Roosevelt established a new Latin American policy—one that he called the Good Neighbor Policy. Roosevelt withdrew American marines from Haiti and agreed that “no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another state.”

The United States, however, remained the most powerful economic force in the region. American companies owned huge tracts of land, commercial farms, mines, and other valuable resources in Latin America. The United States was also the chief trading partner of most Latin American nations.

### Cold War Politics

By the 1950s, the Cold War had added a new issue to relations within the Western Hemisphere. The United States wanted to create a strong anti-communist bloc in the region. Some Latin Americans, however, were sympathetic to communism. They hoped that communism would solve their region’s economic and social ills.

**Battling communism.** To keep leftists from gaining power in Latin America, the United States backed anti-communist forces. Often, that meant supporting dictators or military governments.

The United States also returned to a policy of intervention. In 1954, it helped overthrow a leftist government in Guatemala. It sent armed forces to the Dominican Republic in 1965, to Grenada in 1983, and to Panama in 1989.

**Aid.** To counter communist influence, the United States also increased aid to Latin America. One well-known aid program was President John F. Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress. It offered aid to Latin American countries if they made certain reforms. The Alliance improved conditions somewhat in some countries. However, it did not significantly reduce Latin American poverty.

In recent years, the United States has continued to provide military aid to countries faced with rebel movements. It has also put military and economic resources into the war on drug trafficking in Latin America. In addition,

it has offered financial aid to governments that agree to undertake economic reforms and support free trade.

Today, humanitarian aid also comes from non-governmental groups (NGOs) such as churches and private foundations. These groups often help rebuild schools, hospitals, and homes in countries that have been struck by natural disasters.

### Containing Castro

Fidel Castro’s revolution in Cuba alarmed the United States. Communist Cuba supported revolutionaries in other parts of Latin America and became a close ally of the Soviet Union.

**Bay of Pigs invasion.** In 1961, the United States tried to overthrow Castro. It secretly trained and armed Cuban exiles and set them ashore at the Bay of Pigs, off Cuba’s south coast. The exiles hoped to lead a general uprising against Castro. Instead, Castro’s forces quickly defeated them.

**Cuban missile crisis.** After the Bay of Pigs invasion, Castro forged even closer ties with the Soviet Union. He allowed the Soviets to build missile bases in Cuba. In October 1962, when the United States discovered the missile bases, it set up a naval blockade of Cuba.

These actions set off a superpower crisis. Soviet ships steamed toward Cuba, some carrying atomic missiles. The United States Navy was poised to stop them. The world seemed on the brink of war. In the end, the Soviet Union was forced to back down and remove its missiles.

**Trade embargo.** Since 1962, the United States has imposed a trade embargo on Cuba. In 1977, the two nations set up limited diplomatic relations. Tensions remain high, however. Castro has denounced the United States as an “imperialist” nation. In turn, the United States has blasted Castro’s dictatorship and his human rights abuses.

In recent years, the United States has eased some restrictions. Still, it has not ended its policy of trying to force Castro to change. It has also continued to protest human rights violations by Castro’s government.

## Changing Trends

In recent years, the United States has encouraged moves toward democracy in Latin America. While it has aided anti-communist forces, it has also pressed rightist governments to make reforms.

**El Salvador.** During the 1970s and 1980s, the United States gave massive military aid to El Salvador as its government battled leftist guerrillas. At the same time, the United States urged the Salvadoran government to launch land reform and hold free elections.

Years of civil war took a huge toll on the tiny country. In 1992, the UN finally helped rebel and government forces to reach a peace agreement.

**Nicaragua.** As you read in Chapter 22, leftist Sandinistas gained power in Nicaragua in 1979. Fearing that Nicaragua would become another Cuba, the United States aided the contras in a guerrilla war against the Sandinista government. It also imposed a trade embargo to damage Nicaragua's economy.

In 1990, the United States ended the embargo and restored aid after Nicaragua held free elections and the Sandinistas lost. The new government made economic reforms hoping to spur growth.

**Mixed feelings.** As the Cold War ended, the fear of Soviet power faded. Other issues, such as foreign debt, the illegal drug trade, and terrorism became vital to the people of the hemisphere.

Today, as in the past, Latin Americans have mixed feelings about the United States. Many admire its rich cultural heritage and powerful economy. Others resent its economic and social domination. No matter what their feelings, many Latin Americans share the views of the Mexican poet, Octavio Paz:

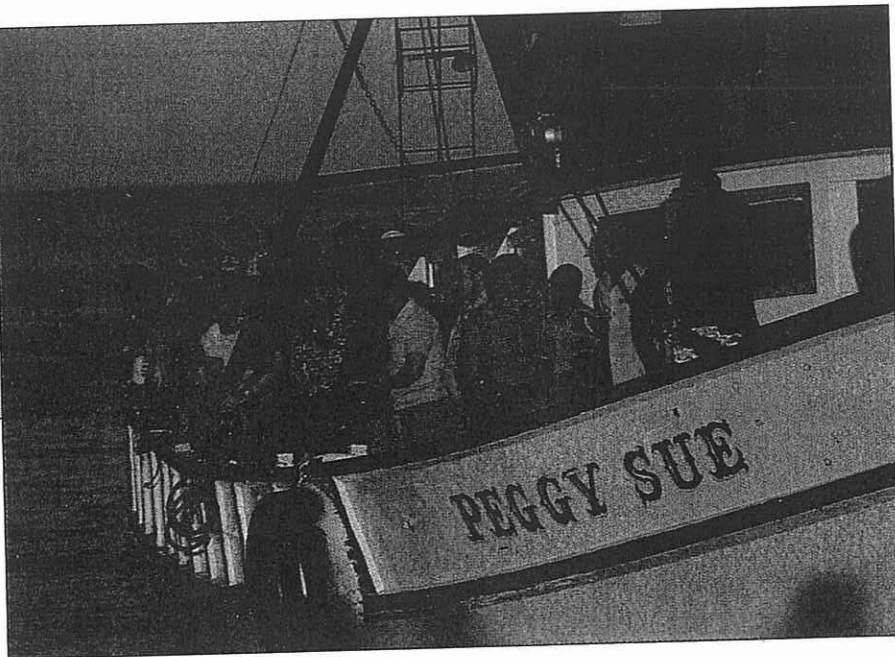
“North Americans are always among us, even when they ignore us or turn their back on us. Their shadow covers the whole hemisphere. It is the shadow of a giant.”

## Puerto Rico: A Special Case

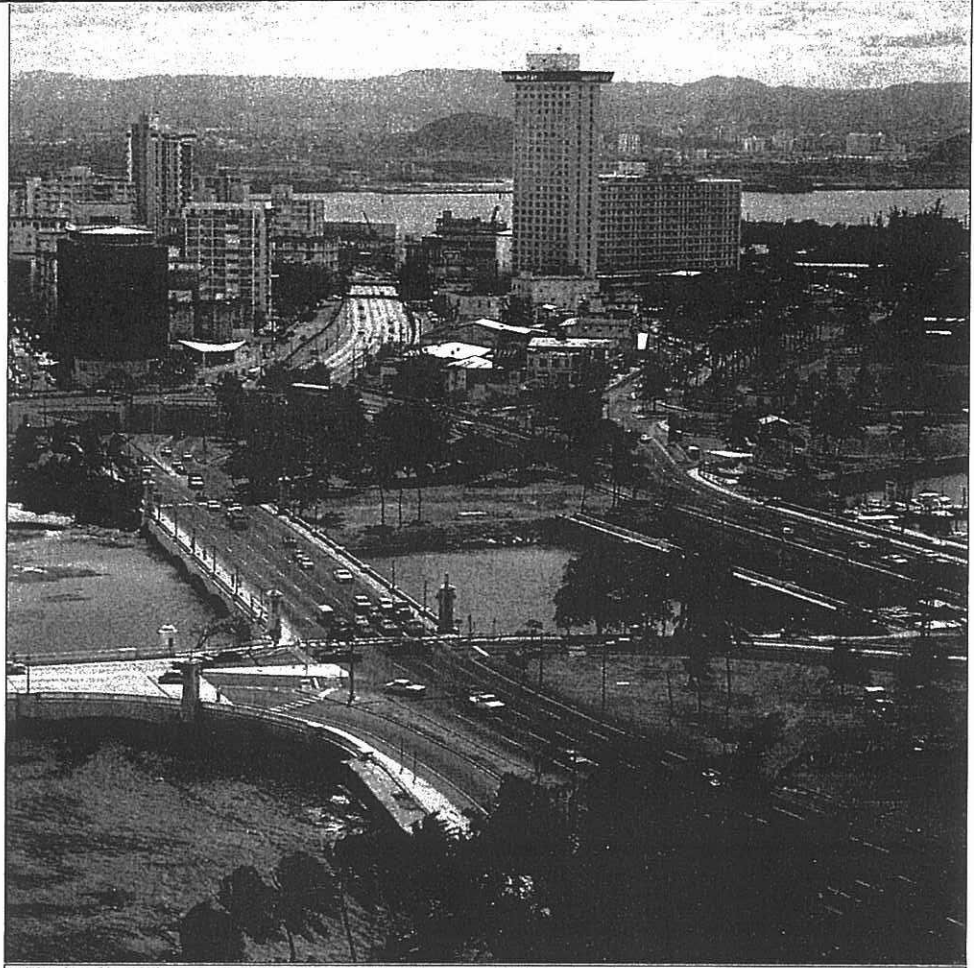
Puerto Rico has lived under the shadow of the United States since 1898. At first, the United States controlled its government and economy. To counter an independence movement, the United States gave Puerto Ricans United States citizenship in 1917.

### The Mariel Boatlift

In 1980, Cuba briefly relaxed its ban on Cubans leaving their country. In just four months, 120,000 Cubans—many of them penniless—fled to Florida in boats. **Power** Name two actions the United States has taken since 1960 against Fidel Castro.







**San Juan, Puerto Rico** Busy highways and towering buildings suggest the prosperity of Puerto Rico's capital city. The people of the commonwealth have a higher standard of living than most Latin Americans. The average income in Puerto Rico, however, is still only about one third that of people in the United States. **Change** How has Puerto Rico's economy changed since the 1950s?

Puerto Rico became a self-governing commonwealth of the United States in 1952. This means that Puerto Rico has its own constitution and elects its own governor and legislature. As citizens of the United States, Puerto Ricans must obey that nation's laws, but they do not have to pay taxes to the federal government. They enjoy most of the rights of citizens, although they cannot vote for the United States president or be represented fully in Congress.

**Economic development.** Until the 1950s, Puerto Rico's economy depended on a single crop—sugar. Large United States corporations owned huge sugar plantations on the island, and most Puerto Ricans lived in poverty.

In the 1950s, Luis Muñoz Marín (loo EES moon YOHS mah REEN) became Puerto Rico's first elected governor. He supported a program to encourage tourism and develop industry on the island. Known as Operation Bootstrap, the program offered United States companies tax savings to build plants in Puerto Rico.

Hundreds of American businesses set up factories to produce shoes, clothing, chemicals, and electronics. In addition to receiving tax breaks, these companies also benefited because wages in Puerto Rico were lower than those on the mainland United States. Even so, incomes for Puerto Ricans rose as the economy developed.

Despite economic progress, the jobless rate remained high. Many Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland United States to find jobs. Today more than 3.1 million Puerto Ricans live on the mainland, and almost 4 million live on the island.

**Future status.** Puerto Ricans have long debated the future of their island. Some call for independence. Others want statehood within the United States. Most Puerto Rican voters, however, have rejected these options. They have voted many times to continue the current status as a commonwealth.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Panama Canal, (b) Puerto Rico.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Monroe Doctrine, (b) Mexican War, (c) Spanish-American War, (d) Platt Amendment, (e) Good Neighbor Policy, (f) Alliance for Progress, (g) Bay of Pigs invasion, (h) Cuban missile crisis.
- 3.** (a) How did Latin American nations first react to the Monroe Doctrine? (b) Identify two events that changed their view of the United States.
- 4.** What was one result of increased United States investment in Latin America during the early 1900s?
- 5.** Give two examples of how the Cold War affected relations between the United States and Latin America.
- 6.** (a) How has Puerto Rico encouraged economic development? (b) Have these programs been successful? Explain.
- 7. Identifying Alternatives** (a) What choices must Puerto Ricans make about the future of their island? (b) What reasons might some Puerto Ricans have for becoming an independent nation? (c) What reasons might others have for wanting to keep their present status? (d) Why would still others want Puerto Rico to gain statehood?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Some people say that the Monroe Doctrine protected Latin America from Europe, but not from the United States. Do you agree or disagree? Write a paragraph explaining your answer.

2

## REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES

### FIND OUT

- What role have regional organizations played in Latin America?
- Why have Latin American debt and the drug trade become global issues?
- What environmental issues are important in Latin America?
- Why has human rights been an issue in Latin America?

**Vocabulary** default

**A**t a meeting in Mexico in the year 2000, a group of Western Hemisphere leaders listened grimly as the president of the World Bank ticked off some unpleasant statistics:

- The number of people living in poverty in Latin America has grown by about 40 million in the past 20 years.
- Today, 15 per cent of Latin Americans live in extreme poverty.
- Latin America's Native American population is severely affected. About 80 per cent live below the poverty line.

The World Bank president had even more disturbing figures. He reported that the distribution of income in Central and South America is the "worst in the world." World Bank statistics show that the poorest 20 per cent of the region's population owns only 4.5 per cent of the region's wealth. In Africa, this percentage is 5.2. In Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia, it is 8.8 per cent.

After hearing these grim figures, the leaders agreed that it would be impossible to achieve steady economic growth so long as there is such a vast gap between rich and poor. They agreed that Latin American poverty was a global problem which required global solutions. Furthermore, they acknowledged that poverty





## **THE CHOICES PROGRAM**

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Barbara Stallings  
*Director, Watson Institute for International Studies*

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## Introduction: Mexico's Transformation

On December 1, 2000, Mexico took a dramatic step toward a new era. On that day, Mexico inaugurated a new president and completed its first transfer of presidential power to an opposition party since the 1920s. For many Mexicans, the end of the seventy-one-year dominance of the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI) signalled an important political transformation for Mexico.

Political reform has not changed Mexico's economic course. As the country focuses on entering the global marketplace, inequality continues to rip Mexican society apart. Mexican business executives jet from continent to continent, while urban slum-dwellers are caught in a widening web of crime and drug trafficking. At the same time, much of Mexico's rural indigenous population lacks basic services such as running water, sanitation, and access to primary education.

Many Mexicans made their frustrations clear in the country's 2006 presidential election. Felipe Calderón, a conservative candidate, won the election by 233,831 votes (out of the 41.5 million cast) over Andrés Manuel López Obrador, a champion of the poor. The election exposed the deep divisions in Mexican society. The majority of Obrador's supporters were from the poor and working classes while Calderón was primarily supported by the middle class and those who thought that Mexico's top concern should be economic and political stability. Many of Obrador's supporters believed the election had been fraudulent and called for a recount of the votes. They organized a six-week long demonstration in Mexico City in which protesters erected tents to block traffic on the city's major

streets. In the end, Mexico's courts allowed only a partial recount and granted Calderón the victory. Although the protests have ended, many Mexicans continue to be angry and distrustful of the government.

***“We are fed up with being robbed, fed up with fraud. We are ready for it to come to blows. If that is what they want, that's what they will get. They want a revolution, then they'll have a revolution.”***

—An Obrador supporter

In this reading, you will be asked to step into the shoes of Mexicans and consider Mexico's future. The readings trace the history of Mexico, from its pre-colonial past to its most recent political and economic changes. You will be asked to consider the same questions that the people of Mexico are now debating: What principles should guide the development of Mexico's economy? How should Mexico define its relationship with the rest of the world? How should Mexicans address their country's inequality and poverty?



Obrador's supporters in a pre-election rally in 2006.

Dermot Tatlow/Panos Pictures. Used with permission.



## Part I: Mexico's Beginnings

In the Plaza of the Three Cultures in Mexico City, a plaque in front of a sixteenth-century church contains the following inscription: "On August 12, 1521, heroically defended by Cuauhtemoc [emperor of the Aztecs], Tlatelolco fell into the hands of Hernán Cortés. It was neither a triumph nor a defeat: it was the painful birth of the *mestizo* nation that is Mexico today."

The inscription reflects the mixed feelings that Mexicans have toward their country's origins. Mexicans today have a great deal of pride in their indigenous past. The achievements of the region's early civilizations hold a prominent place in Mexican history and culture. Many Mexicans remember the resistance of the Aztecs during the Spanish conquest as the heroic defense of a sophisticated society against savage Spanish conquistadors ("conquerors"). At the same time, Mexicans cannot deny their Spanish heritage and the influence of nearly three hundred years of Spanish colonialism. Most Mexicans are *mestizo*, a mix of indigenous and European ancestry.

Tensions between indigenous and Spanish, conquered and conqueror, continue to exist today. The descendants of Spanish conquistadors continue to control much of Mexico's land and wealth. At the opposite extreme, millions in rural indigenous communities are among the poorest people in the Western Hemisphere. For members of Mexico's *mestizo* majority, the divisions are more complex.

For those who want to understand Mexico today, understanding early Mexican history is crucial. As you read, try to note the connections between past and present.

### Early Mexican Societies

The region which is now Mexico is geographically diverse, with arid desert in the north and fertile valleys in the central region. When the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century, it was inhabited by diverse groups and kingdoms. The largest and most sophisticated of these societies were located in what is now central Mexico and Central America.

#### *Who were the early inhabitants of this region?*

Olmec society, often described as the "mother" civilization of this area, flourished as early as 1200 B.C.E. The Olmecs were known for their fine art, great stone monuments, and for the creation of pictographs which were used as a written language. This was the first known written language in the Western Hemisphere. The Olmecs also developed sophisticated cultivation and irrigation techniques for farming. These developments greatly influenced later societies in the region, such as the Mayas.

The Mayas constructed their first city-states around 150 C.E. in what is today the



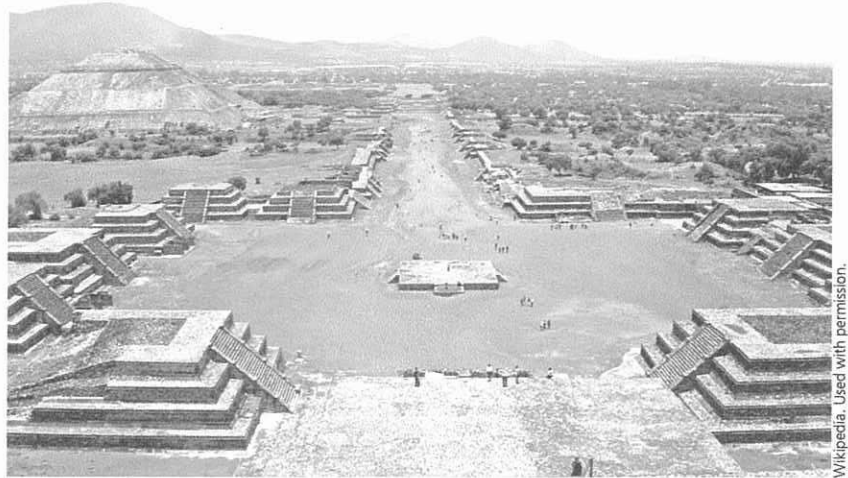
This Olmec stone sculpture is more than six feet wide and nearly nine feet tall.

Wikipedia. Used with permission.



country of Guatemala. The Mayas built huge stone pyramids, palaces, and temples. They also developed a complicated calendar system, possibly to help them determine optimal times to plant or harvest their crops. Their society was hierarchical, with the nobility ruling over commoners and slaves. In order to expand their territory, the Mayas conquered neighboring kingdoms. The Mayas forced the conquered kingdoms to pay a regular tax but otherwise left them to govern themselves. In the following centuries, the center of Maya civilization extended north to the Yucatán Peninsula. Maya people still live in Mexico today.

The rise of the Mayas occurred alongside the development of the city of Teotihuacán in the Valley of Mexico (the location of Mexico City). Historians are not sure of the exact origin of the people who built this city, although



The ruins of the city of Teotihuacán today. The Pyramid of the Sun is in the distance to the left.

they often refer to them as Teotihuacanos. The construction of Teotihuacán was carefully planned, with wide thoroughfares connected in a grid pattern. The architecture and art of the people of Teotihuacán show that religion was very important to them. In the heart of the city was a ceremonial center of approximately two square miles which held numerous stone

### Highlights of Major Early Mexican Societies

Society	Dates	City/Region	Great Achievements
<b>Olmec</b>	1200 to 800 B.C.E.	southern Mexico	“mother civilization” first written language in Western Hemisphere
<b>Maya</b>	second century C.E. to present	Central America, extended into Yucatán peninsula	stone pyramids, palaces, temples developed calendar system
<b>Unknown</b> (often called Teotihuacanos)	second to seventh century	Teotihuacán Valley of Mexico	carefully planned city constructed third largest pyramid in the world city was religious and trading center
<b>Aztec</b>	thirteenth to present	Tenochtitlan Valley of Mexico	largest empire ever in region complex city administration for political, military, and religious matters



pyramids and temples. The city's Pyramid of the Sun is the third largest pyramid in the world. (The largest pyramid ever constructed is also located in central Mexico.) Teotihuacán was a shrine to pilgrims from throughout the region. Teotihuacán was also a trading hub, with a network reaching to parts of northern Mexico and as far south as present-day Guatemala. At its height, the city was home to as many as two hundred thousand people.

### ***How was the Aztec Empire established?***

In the seventh century, Teotihuacán and other central Mexican societies diminished, possibly because of food shortages. The region was also invaded by warrior tribes from the north. The Toltecs and later the Aztecs eventually restored the Valley of Mexico as a center of power by the middle of the fourteenth century. The city of Tenochtitlan, which the Aztecs built on an island in Lake Texcoco, came to rival the earlier wealth and glory of Teotihuacán. The Aztecs based much of their society on the ideas and practices of other groups in the area. The nobility ruled Aztec society and the Aztecs forced city-states they had conquered to pay their emperor, similar to the practice of the Maya Empire before them. The Aztecs also required these city-states to provide young men and women for labor and for human sacrifice. Human sacrifice had been practiced in the region as early as the second century, mainly for religious purposes. The Aztecs expanded upon this practice, sacrificing thousands of people each year, as much for political control and intimidation as for honor of the gods.

Tenochtitlan was a huge

metropolis, with a complex political, military, and religious bureaucracy including tax collectors, courts of justice, and a mail service. Local and regional markets attracted thousands from the surrounding area to buy goods. The Aztecs were renowned for their fine art and massive stone statues, and the city housed a royal library filled with books documenting Aztec culture and society. By the time the Spanish arrived in the early sixteenth century, the Aztec Empire stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, reached as far south as present-day El Salvador, and contained seven to fifteen million people.

### **The Spanish Conquest**

Starting with Columbus in the fifteenth century, the Spanish monarchy commissioned explorers to discover a faster trade route to Asia. What these conquistadors found instead was a vast continent, previously unknown to Europe, and inhabited by thousands of dif-



The thirteenth month of the Aztec sacred calendar. The words next to the pictures are Spanish translations of Aztec pictographs.





ferent indigenous groups and cultures. In the 1490s, the Spanish set up a small colony called Santo Domingo in the Caribbean islands and enslaved the indigenous population to work on farms and in gold mines. Santo Domingo not only provided Spain with resources and wealth, but also was a convenient location for further exploration of the region.

A labor shortage caused the Spanish to explore the Mexican coast. Most of the Caribbean's indigenous population had died from European diseases. Diego Velázquez de Cuellos, Governor of Santo Domingo, sent the first Spanish expedition to Mexico in 1517 to find more slaves. Landing along the Yucatán coastline, the Spanish glimpsed sophisticated cities and civilizations before being fiercely driven away by the Mayas. The commander of the second trip, which sailed from Cuba in 1518, travelled further up the coastline. This was the first time the Aztecs had direct contact with the Spanish. When the Aztec emperor Moctezuma heard about the Spanish, he and his advisors decided to wait and see what the Spanish would do before taking any action.

#### ***What advantages did the Spanish have over the Aztecs?***

Cortés led a third expedition to Mexico in early 1519. From the beginning, Cortés set his sights on the Aztec Empire, the most powerful empire in all of Mexico and Central America. One of the greatest advantages of the Spanish in Mexico was that they had some idea of what to expect upon arrival. Cortés himself had fifteen years of experience with indigenous Americans by the time he sailed to Mexico. The Aztecs and their emperor Moctezuma, on the other hand, were unsure what to make of the large ships, horses, body armor, and European weapons of the Spanish and for many months did not know what Cortés and his men intended to do.

The rule of the Aztec emperor over conquered groups was based on demonstrations of power, such as human sacrifice, and by demanding tribute by force, rather than ruling over city-states directly. Aside from paying tribute, these city-states generally

ruled themselves independently. The arrival of the Spanish altered the balance of power within the Empire and called into question the supremacy of Moctezuma. Many of the conquered groups had been unhappy with Aztec power and, through a combination of coercion and force, Cortés convinced many to join him against the Aztec Empire. At the same time, Cortés maintained a weak alliance with the Aztecs in order to delay fighting until he was ready.

#### ***What happened in the fight for Tenochtitlan?***

The Spanish and their allies entered the city of Tenochtitlan for the first time in November 1519. The Spanish were awestruck by Tenochtitlan's size and grandeur. The city was larger than any the Spanish had seen, not only in the region, but in much of Europe as well.

***“...when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level Causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed.... And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream.”***

—Bernal Díaz del Castillo,  
one of Cortés' soldiers

Moctezuma, still unsure of Spanish intentions, welcomed Cortés and his men into the city. Tenochtitlan was an island city, connected to the mainland by three removable bridges. Cortés, fearing a possible trap, captured Moctezuma. For the next eight months, the Spanish directed Moctezuma's rule and demanded large gifts of Aztec gold. Historians are not sure why Moctezuma allowed this to happen, but some believe he may have been worried about losing support if he admitted he had made a mistake in allowing the Spanish to enter the city.

Spanish rule in Tenochtitlan abruptly ended in 1520 after the Spanish brutally massacred between eight and ten thousand Aztec nobles during a religious festival. The Aztec populace rose up in anger, and the Spanish,



Reproduced from *A History of Mexican Mural Painting*.

Muralist Diego Rivera's interpretation of the Spanish Conquest.

suffering many casualties, were forced to flee the city.

***“Oh! What a fight and what a fierce battle it was that took place; it was a memorable thing to see us all streaming with blood and covered with wounds and others slain.”***

—Bernal Díaz, one of Cortés' soldiers, remembering the Spanish retreat from Tenochtitlan

This was a major Aztec victory and significantly undermined support for the Spanish among other indigenous city-states. The Spanish spent the next year reforming alliances with these groups, planning to surround Tenochtitlan and squeeze it from the outside. At the same time, the death of Moctezuma, who was killed most likely by the Spanish

during the uprising, left a power vacuum within the city and the cohesion of the Empire continued to unravel. Also during this period, a smallpox outbreak killed nearly forty percent of the indigenous population in less than a year.

The Spanish and their allies (more than two hundred indigenous warriors for each Spanish fighter) returned to Tenochtitlan in 1521. They blocked the city's three bridges and used ships to try to cut the city's supply of food and water. A massive battle for Tenochtitlan lasted three months. The Aztecs were militarily superior and had huge numbers of troops. The Spanish would have been brutally defeated had it not been for their indigenous allies who gave supplies and tens of thousands of warriors to fight the Aztecs. The blockade of supplies and troop reinforcements eventually wore down Aztec resistance, and in August 1521, Tenochtitlan fell to the Spanish and their allies.

## Colonial Mexico

After the fall of Tenochtitlan, the remainder of the Aztec Empire quickly collapsed. The Spanish destroyed the city and built Mexico City upon its ruins. Fueled mainly by desires for riches and further exploration, the Spanish extended their rule throughout the region. Although Spain established its colony, New Spain, in 1535, frontier wars and indigenous resistance slowed Spanish expansion throughout the colonial period. Nevertheless, by the 1670s, New Spain was the richest and most populous Spanish colony. Of all of Spain's colonies, including much of North America, South America, and the Caribbean, Mexico was the jewel in the Spanish crown.

### ***How was Mexican society changed by colonization?***

A new society was created from the mix of diverse cultures in colonial Mexico. European customs blended with indigenous practices and the traditions of enslaved Africans who were brought to Mexico from Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. This created new musi-





cal styles, dances, and cultural and religious practices. People's daily lives also changed. For instance, many indigenous people who lost their land moved to the city and adapted Spanish customs. Similarly, large landowners, isolated in rural areas, often adapted some indigenous practices. Intermarriages and unions between men and women of different backgrounds created new racial categories. Collectively called *mestizos*, these groups quickly outnumbered the white population.

The population also changed in other, more tragic ways. A series of plagues throughout the sixteenth century decimated the indigenous population. Numbering more than twelve million at the end of the fifteenth century, the indigenous population was less than one million by 1620.

Social and economic opportunities in New Spain were based on one's race and background. For example, although whites held a higher status than any other group, whites born in Spain, called *peninsulares*, generally had more opportunities than *criollos*, the whites born in the colony. Indigenous people and freed Africans, on the other hand, had very few opportunities for social or economic advancement. Slaves, of course, had no opportunities.

### ***How did the Spanish treat indigenous groups?***

The Spanish considered indigenous peoples legal minors and wards of the crown and Catholic church. Spanish authorities declared slavery of indigenous peoples illegal in 1542. Still, the colonial government often forced indigenous communities to pay a regular tribute, usually of money and labor.

At the same time, the colonial government protected certain indigenous rights. Most significantly, the government preserved indigenous land ownership rights. Many times groups were forced off traditional lands, but this law allowed them to claim new lands on which to settle. Although the law was passed mainly to ensure that indigenous communities could afford to pay tribute, it allowed many

communities to remain economically self-sufficient.

Spanish authority was strongest in the cities, mainly located in central and southern Mexico. In the rural areas, particularly to the north, indigenous groups remained more independent. Revolts in the north were successful in either slowing Spanish expansion or stopping it altogether for much of the colonial period. The discovery of gold and silver mines, however, led to more permanent Spanish settlements in the north.

### ***What was the economy of New Spain based upon?***

According to the Spanish crown, New Spain existed only for the economic benefit of Spain. The economy of New Spain was based on trade with Spain, exporting raw materials and importing European manufactured goods. With few navigable rivers, transportation in New Spain was expensive and slow. This meant that only the most profitable goods, such as gold, silver, and cacao, were exported. The colonial government discouraged other economic development in New Spain in order to protect producers in Spain.

Indigenous workers and African slaves provided the majority of labor in New Spain. The Spanish used these workers to excavate silver from mines in the north. Landowners also put them to work on their haciendas, large tracts of land given to wealthy Spaniards by the Spanish crown. Early transportation in the colony was provided by indigenous porters who would physically carry goods and people to points of destination across the country. The forced labor of indigenous workers also built most of New Spain's cities and towns. The stone for many of the colony's finest churches and palaces came from indigenous temples and pyramids.

### ***What was the role of the Catholic church in New Spain?***

The Catholic church was the most influential institution in colonial Mexico. To a large extent, many Spanish explorers justified their



conquests by claiming they were spreading Christianity. The aim of conversion was to totally replace traditional religious practices with Catholicism. In practice, although indigenous communities were often receptive to this new religion, Christianity was rarely accepted completely. Many indigenous groups combined religious practices, adopting parts of Catholicism into their traditional religions.

**“They give worship to Christ and they serve their gods, they revere the Lord and they do not revere Him...they venerate Him, in short, only with the appearance of Christianity.”**

—José de Acosta, Spanish missionary, 1588

Although frustrating to Spanish missionaries, this blending of new and old helped preserve elements of indigenous cultures long after the colonial period ended. Today, almost ninety percent of Mexicans identify themselves as Catholic. At the same time, many Mexicans still practice indigenous customs. For example, traditional healers, using indigenous medicines and religious practices, still provide services in many communities.

The Catholic church was also important in the social and economic life of New Spain. The church provided the only education in the colony, which was primarily geared towards white males. In the absence of banks, the church became a major lending institution for the wealthy in New Spain. Furthermore, thanks to large gifts of money from elite families, the church owned large portions of rural and urban land throughout the colony.

## Mexican Independence

During the colonial period, most of New Spain’s population, indigenous and European alike, sincerely accepted the rule of the Spanish monarch over the colony. Many had never even considered gaining independence from Spain.



Annika Gunning. Used with permission.

A Catholic church built from the ruins of a Zapotec temple. The Zapotecs, an indigenous group dating back more than 2500 years, still live in southern Mexico today.

### **How did events in Europe affect colonial desires for independence?**

At the start of the nineteenth century, events in Spain changed the thinking of many *criollo* elite. In 1808 France’s Napoleon Bonaparte conquered Spain and put Spain’s King Ferdinand VII in jail. The Spanish convened their national assembly, which had not operated for many years, to rule in the king’s absence. The assembly drafted a new constitution that called for popular voting rights and a representative government, and it demanded increased revenue from the colonists in New Spain.

The *criollo* elite in New Spain, loyal to King Ferdinand, were fearful of a liberal constitution that would threaten their traditional privileges. They also felt squeezed financially by the economic demands of the new Spanish government. Resentment of the government in Spain was added to long existing *criollo* resentment of *peninsulares*. Although the *peninsular* population in New Spain was quite small, competition between *criollos* and *peninsulares* for status and position was fierce. Talk of Mexican independence began in earnest among the *criollo* elite a few years after King Ferdinand was imprisoned.





### ***How was the majority of New Spain's population involved in the independence movement?***

Many in the mestizo and indigenous populations were frustrated with their limited opportunities and increasing poverty. At the same time, many were loyal to the Spanish monarch. They generally directed their frustration towards the local government in New Spain. However, some *criollos* believed that the masses could be organized to fight against the authority of *peninsulares* and the authority of the Spanish government in the colony.

Miguel Hidalgo, a *criollo* parish priest, organized his largely mestizo and indigenous congregation in the first armed uprising against Spanish rule. On September 16, 1810, the date now celebrated as Mexico's Independence Day, he called on his congregation to regain their land and freedom from the Spanish. He spoke particularly about the land that had been stolen from indigenous communities by the *peninsulares*, an issue that was of central importance to most indigenous people. (In fact, most indigenous land had been confiscated by *criollo* landowners.)

Hidalgo organized an army of twenty thousand, mostly farmers armed with machetes and shovels, and led them to a nearby mining town to attack *peninsulares*. Hidalgo had little control over his followers, and the army went on a rampage, killing hundreds. Ironically, both *peninsulares* and *criollos* were targeted, as the poor rural masses found both groups equally arrogant. Lacking organization, the army dispersed after a few months and Hidalgo was executed by the colonial authorities.

Many *criollos* became frightened at the peasant discontent that had been uncovered and lost their enthusiasm for independence. Fighting continued, as small, independent guerrilla movements of indigenous and mestizo communities, protesting their oppression, spread across the country. José María Morelos, a *mestizo* parish priest who had been one of Hidalgo's officers, continued the rebellion south of Mexico City. He organized an army, mostly of *mestizo* and indigenous peasants,

which won control of much of southern Mexico. In 1813, he convened a popular assembly that declared Mexico's independence from Spain. Before their new government could take effect, the colonial authorities crushed the movement and executed Morelos.

### ***How did Mexico gain independence from Spain?***

In 1814, Spanish guerrillas forced the French out of Spain and King Ferdinand returned to his throne. The elite of New Spain expected gratitude for their loyalty, but Ferdinand, fearful of losing control of the colony, sent troops to Mexico to reassert Spanish rule. Then, in 1820, a rebellion in Spain forced the King to accept the liberal constitution the Spanish assembly had drafted in his absence. Many Mexican conservatives feared that the reforms threatened to overturn the old social order. *Criollos* and *peninsulares* joined together and developed an independence plan to preserve their privileges. The *Plan de Iguala* called for an independent Mexico ruled by a monarch, equality between *peninsulares* and *criollos*, and Roman Catholicism as the official religion. In 1821, after limited fighting between Mexican and Spanish forces, Spain officially recognized Mexican independence. In the end, conservative Mexico had won independence from a much more liberal Spain.

### ***What happened in Mexico after independence?***

Instability and hardship were characteristic features of newly independent Mexico. Disease had killed as many as 600,000 people during the insurgency. Mining, agriculture, and industry had all suffered. Many wealthy *peninsulares* and colonial administrators left the country after independence, taking their money and skills with them. The silver mines were flooded and machinery had been ruined. U.S. and European merchants took over most of Mexico's trade and therefore collected most of the profits. The country lacked infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and ports, and the new government did not have the money to build more. Unable to collect taxes due to their



Mexico's boundaries in 1832, before the Mexican-American War.

weak control of the country, Mexico's leaders resorted to borrowing from foreign countries and soon amassed a huge foreign debt.

Mexico's leaders struggled to maintain control after independence. For the first fifty years of independence, most Mexican leaders were in power for less than a year. According to the constitution passed in 1824, the Mexican Congress, with two representatives from each state, would elect the president. In practice, most leaders came to power through military coups. Antonio López de Santa Anna, the most powerful political figure of the era, was in power eleven times over the period. The government was dominated by elites, most of them wealthy landowners with their own private armies.

For the most part, elite struggles for power had little effect on the lives of the majority of Mexico's people. Most peasants continued to work for wealthy landowners or on communal land in indigenous communities. The Mexican public had little contact with the ruling elite. Some indigenous communities did rebel

against the new government. The Caste War of the Yucatán was a Maya rebellion lasting from 1847 to 1854. During this rebellion, the Mayas in the Yucatán peninsula temporarily separated from the rest of Mexico. Although eventually defeated, this rebellion underscored the weakness of the central government during the period.

### *What happened in Texas?*

Mexico paid a high price for its instability in the northern territories as well. The weak central government could not control Mexico's frontier, the land which today comprises the U.S. states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas. The re-

gion was sparsely settled and Mexico's leaders, hoping to populate the area and protect it from hostile indigenous groups, encouraged the immigration of U.S. citizens. As settlers streamed into Texas, they increasingly clashed with Mexican authorities over land rights, slavery, and tax issues.

In 1836, Texan settlers declared independence from Mexico. Santa Anna personally led a six-thousand-man army into Texas to defend the territory, but after a few short battles, he was defeated. Nevertheless, Mexico refused to recognize Texan independence. The United States government did recognize an independent Texas, however, and in 1845, the region was annexed into the United States. Hungry for more land, the United States put pressure on the Mexican government to agree to a larger boundary for Texas and to the sale of California and New Mexico. When the Mexican government refused, the United States declared war.





***What were results of the war between Mexico and the United States?***

The Mexican-American War (known among Mexicans as the “North American Invasion”) exposed Mexico’s shortcomings. The country lacked a strong central army, so much of the fighting was done by hurriedly raised, poorly equipped troops whose commanding generals pursued individual strategies instead of following a unified plan. Although outnumbered in most battles, U.S. troops dominated the fight, pushing Mexican armies back on every front. In a little more than a year, U.S. forces took over Mexico City.

Initially, most Mexicans provided little support for the war, believing Mexico would have an easy victory over U.S. troops. The successful invasion inspired Mexican patriotism, and many Mexicans became openly hostile towards the United States. They vowed that U.S. troops would not be victorious. The Mexican *criollo* elite, however, fearful of further instability, surrendered to the United States and in 1848 the government signed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. In exchange for \$15 million, Mexico surrendered half its territory to the United States.



## Part II: The Consolidation of a Nation

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The war between Mexico and the United States was a serious wake-up call for Mexico's political leaders. The U.S. desire for expansion was a grave threat to Mexican territory and the stability of Mexican independence. The war had exposed the fragility of the nation. Mexican leaders realized that if they did not quickly establish control and stability in the country, they risked losing it altogether.

### Progress, Reform, and Order

Defeat at the hands of the United States in 1848 led many in the Mexican elite to question their country's cultural foundations. They blamed traditional social structures, including the Catholic church and the military, for Mexico's loss. The urban middle class emerged as a powerful political force, advocating complete reform of Mexico's political, economic, and social institutions. These reformers, known as liberals, advocated principles of individual responsibility and private property, and they believed European and U.S. ideas of progress could serve as a model for Mexico's reform.

#### *What was "La Reforma"?*

The liberals led a revolt against Santa Anna, who was again in power, and took over the government in 1855. Implementing their program of reform, "La Reforma," the liberals immediately began to dismantle traditional structures of religious and military privilege. At the time the liberals came to power, the Catholic church owned much of Mexico's best farmland, as well as many urban properties, and Mexicans were required by law to pay a percentage of their income to the church. Legislation passed during La Reforma forced the church to sell all property that did not have religious buildings, established a clear separation of church and state, and restricted the authority of military and church courts. In 1857, middle class professionals drafted a new constitution which protected basic human rights and freedoms and established a democratic, representative government.

Opposition to the liberals and the new legislation was great, particularly among conservative members of the church and the military. Many indigenous communities were also opposed to the liberals' method of reform. Most rural communities were structured around the church and did not welcome the liberals' changes. Furthermore, the same law which forced the church to sell its extra properties also forced indigenous communities to sell their *ejidos*, traditional communal lands. Policy makers intended to transform indigenous people into independent small farmers. Instead, the law forced most of Mexico's six million indigenous people off their lands, which were then bought up by large landowners and speculators.

#### *How did conservatives try to regain control of Mexico?*

Conservative elites were afraid that these reforms would strip them of their economic and social privileges. In 1858, they forced the liberals out of Mexico City and took over the government. The liberals fled to the port city of Veracruz where they formed a government in exile. This government was led by Benito Juárez, a highly educated lawyer who, despite his indigenous roots, firmly believed in European ideals of progress and reform. The two governments battled for control of the country. This civil war lasted for three years, with a great deal of violence and destruction on both sides. In 1861, liberal forces were victorious. They retook Mexico City and reformed their government, with Juárez as president.

The cost of the war bankrupted Mexico's economy. Juárez was forced to suspend Mexico's repayment of foreign loans. In January 1862, British, French, and Spanish troops occupied Veracruz to make sure that Mexico would repay the money as soon as possible.

The French also had a hidden agenda. Mexican conservatives, desperate to return to power, had negotiated with France's emperor to create a new Mexican monarchy. The





French agreed and invaded Mexico in 1862, installing a European emperor to rule the country. But the French had overestimated the conservatives' popular support. Most Mexicans did not accept the new monarch and the liberals led resistance to the new government across the country. They were seen as the defenders of Mexican nationalism and popular support for Juárez and the liberals intensified.

In 1865, the United States ended its own civil war and began to support the liberals with arms, ammunition, and volunteer soldiers. The French withdrew in 1866, and in 1867, liberal forces defeated the monarchy and executed the emperor. The conservatives were discredited and Juárez was elected president amid great public support.

### ***How did Juárez reform the Mexican economy?***

During Juárez's presidency, Mexico's economy and government were more stable than they had been at any point since independence. Juárez implemented a new economic plan based on foreign trade. Most Mexican exports were raw materials, like agricultural

goods and minerals, that were needed in the booming industries of the United States and Great Britain. To make transportation of goods to and from port cities easier, Mexico needed better infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, and railroads. In order to do this, the government needed money. The government encouraged foreign investors to come to Mexico to lend their capital and expertise. Juárez also focused his reforms on education, limiting the role of the church and creating many new, state-run schools.

### ***What was the Porfiriato?***

Mexico's government remained stable after Juárez's sudden death in 1872 and a new president, Sebastián Lerdo, was democratically elected to replace him. In 1876, however, Porfirio Díaz seized control of the government, claiming that Lerdo had violated the constitution by running for a second term. Ironically, Díaz would rule the country for the next thirty-five years almost uninterrupted, violating the very principle he claimed to be protecting.

Díaz continued many of Juárez's reforms, building thousands of miles of railroad, and modernizing roads, bridges, and ports. He focused on maintaining stability to attract more foreign investors and to improve Mexico's international image. Massive amounts of foreign capital were invested in the country. The money was used to develop industries such as steel and textiles and to modernize the country's agricultural and mining sectors with new technology. The economy grew dramatically, and foreign trade increased from about 50 million pesos in 1876 to more than 480 million pesos in 1910.

Díaz's rule in Mexico, known as the Porfiriato,



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Women working in a cigarette factory in Mexico City, 1903.



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Sugarcane farmers in the late 19th century. During the Porfiriato, millions of farmers lost their land and were forced to work on large haciendas.

was structured on his belief that stability and economic growth would only be achieved through order and progress. Díaz controlled Mexico through “*pan, o palo,*” bread or the stick. This phrase meant that those who supported Díaz were rewarded (the bread) and those who opposed were punished (the stick). For example, as the economy grew, Díaz expanded the police force, and created a large government bureaucracy. He used the police to repress opposition movements brutally, particularly those led by peasants and indigenous groups. He appeased his political opponents with positions in the bureaucracy. Díaz also changed the constitution in order to legitimize his lengthy rule.

### ***What were the consequences of Díaz's reforms?***

The Porfiriato created massive inequality in Mexican society. Economic growth benefited the rich at the expense of the poor. In the countryside, Díaz continued to encourage the concentration of landholding. Land speculators and wealthy businessmen bought huge tracts of land, oftentimes forcing peasants off their lands. During the Porfiriato, indigenous communal landholdings shrunk from twenty-five percent to only two percent of Mexico's land. At the same time, most land

was incorporated into huge haciendas owned by foreigners and a handful of Mexico's richest families.

Approximately ninety percent of the rural population lost its land during Díaz's rule. Many were forced to work on the large haciendas for low wages, often borrowing money in order to survive. Most farms grew crops that were profitable to export, so much less land was devoted to growing food. This raised the price of basic food items, hurting the poor. Additionally, these large farms required

less labor, putting many peasants out of work. Some moved to the cities to find jobs in the factories and often worked very long hours for little pay.

Most of the peasants' employers were foreigners. By 1900, close to ninety percent of Mexican industry, and more than a quarter of Mexico's land, was owned by foreigners, primarily U.S. investors. As the economy began to slow at the turn of the century, many middle class Mexicans became concerned with the country's dependence on foreign money. They grew increasingly frustrated at the privileges given to foreign investors and began to protest the level of foreign involvement in Mexico's economy. Poor workers were equally unhappy, as the government often used the national military to repress strikes of Mexican workers to the benefit of foreign owners. Rural and urban workers alike began to organize in regional and national workers' associations. By the early 1900s, Díaz was, to many, the symbol of everything that was wrong with the country. Many believed that conditions would improve only if he was forced out of office.

### ***What did various opposition groups wish to accomplish?***

Although many were unhappy with the



Porfiriato, opposition groups had different ideas about what would improve the situation. Many among the middle class believed that political reform was all that was needed for things in Mexico to get better. They were content with the status quo and thought that a democratically elected president would resolve any discontent.

***“Gentlemen, you do not want bread, you want only freedom because freedom will enable you to win your bread.”***

—Francisco Madero  
at a worker’s rally, 1910

Other rebel groups, mostly made up of peasants and workers, were much more radical. Their demands ranged from land reform to worker’s rights to reforms in education. For them, political change was only a starting point. They were fighting for land and liberty.

United only in their dislike of Díaz, the different opposition factions formed a weak alliance to force Díaz out of power. A coalition of opposition forces led by Francisco Madero entered Mexico City in 1911 and forced Díaz into exile.

## The Mexican Revolution

The end of the Porfiriato was the first step in a violent revolution that lasted for nearly a decade. There were great divisions among the opposition groups, and the Revolution meant very different things to different people. Groups had diverse and specific demands which made unification among them nearly impossible. Violent rebellions broke out across the country. A number of different leaders came to power, often by force and often either by killing the previous leaders or forcing them into exile. These leaders struggled to remain in power as the violence of the civil war continued unabated.

### ***Who was Emiliano Zapata?***

Emiliano Zapata is perhaps the most well known figure of the Mexican Revolution and,

today, a national hero to many Mexicans. Originally from Morelos, a region in southern Mexico, Zapata was one of many local rebel leaders. For a time, Zapata had worked as a skilled horse trainer on a large hacienda, but he had left his job when he realized that the horses lived better than most of the farm workers. He returned to Morelos and organized an army to fight for land reform and the return of lands that had been forcibly taken from peasants.

The Zapatistas, as Zapata’s army was known, not only fought opposing rebel groups but also local landowners. Shortly after Díaz was forced out of power, Zapata and his army seized a number of large haciendas in southern Mexico and divided them up between local peasant farmers. Wide support for Zapata’s land reform demands made his movement popular with many peasants across the country.



Emiliano Zapata.

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The Villistas. There is an "x" below Pancho Villa.

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### ***What other rebel groups were fighting?***

By 1914, there were three main revolutionary groups involved in the struggle. Zapata and his army controlled much of southern Mexico, pressing for extensive land reform. In the north, Francisco "Pancho" Villa led an army of cowboys, miners, railroad workers, and farmers. Villa, a former bandit, was very popular in the region for his lawless attitude. His army, known as the Villistas, fought for the rights of rural peasants and urban workers. The group organized a calvary to fight opponents, took over haciendas and distributed the land to peasants, and, to finance their operations, robbed trains and printed paper money. The Villistas controlled northern Mexico for much of the Revolution.

The third group was the Constitutionalists. This force, led by Venustiano Carranza, primarily consisted of middle class citizens who wished to reinstate the democratic principles of the 1857 Constitution. The United States provided the Constitutionalists with arms and military support, although the group openly

denounced U.S. involvement in Mexico's civil war.

Thanks in part to U.S. support, the Constitutionalists took control of the presidency in 1914. Two months later, Carranza organized a meeting of delegates from the different rebel factions in order to discuss their various demands and bring some order to the country. Delegates arrived with weapons, exceedingly distrustful of each other. The Zapatista and Villista delegates joined together against the Constitutionalists and many believed that the two sides could not be reconciled.

***"Those are men who have always slept on soft pillows. How could they ever be friends of the people, who have spent their whole lives in nothing but suffering?"***

—Pancho Villa, referring to the Constitutionalists

Fighting increased after the convention. Zapata and Villa unified their armies to force



the Constitutionalist out of Mexico City. The troops occupied the city for only a few weeks before the Zapata-Villa coalition collapsed. Zapata's peasant forces—mostly indigenous men clad in heavy white cloth and huge sombreros—were bewildered by the big city and retreated into the southern mountains. The Constitutionalist took advantage of the division to launch a major attack on the Villistas. This attack severely weakened Villa's army and forced the Villistas back into northern Mexico.

### ***What was significant about the Constitution of 1917?***

By 1916 Carranza and the Constitutionalist controlled most of central and southern Mexico. In September of that year, Carranza organized a convention of Constitutionalist delegates to draft a new constitution. The document they created fulfilled the demands of many of the revolutionary factions, protecting both the political and social goals of the Revolution.

The Constitution of 1917 established an active central government committed to promoting the well-being of Mexican citizens. This reversed previous ideas that the government should have a limited role in the lives of ordinary people. The constitution's authors—mostly teachers, lawyers, bureaucrats, engineers, and other members of the middle class—were determined to wrest power away from large landowners, foreign businessmen, and the church. The constitution protected the rights of workers to form unions and strike, with the government acting as mediator between owners and laborers. Article 27 of the constitution instated land reforms, granting rural communities the right to claim land.

***“The Nation shall at all times have the right to impose on private property such limitation as the public interest may demand...to ensure a more equitable distribution of public wealth. Necessary measures shall be taken to divide up large landed estates; to develop small landed***

***holdings....”***

—Article 27, Mexican Constitution

This provision also gave the Mexican government, rather than foreign governments and investors, control of Mexico's mineral and petroleum resources, as well as its frontiers and borders. Among other things, the constitution formally separated the powers of the church from the state and granted every citizen the right to education. Although some principles have not yet been achieved, the constitution of 1917 is the same one Mexico uses today.

### ***Why did fighting continue after 1917?***

Most Mexicans supported the constitution. Still, those who felt that the constitution was too progressive or not progressive enough continued fighting. Others became frustrated with Carranza for failing to implement the constitution's reforms fast enough. Urban workers organized strikes, and support for Zapata grew once again as he criticized the government for not implementing land reform. Carranza's popularity declined even more when, in 1919, he organized the murder of Zapata. Many viewed Zapata as a martyr and Carranza as a traitor to the ideals of the revolution.

In 1920, Alvaro Obregón, the general of the Constitutionalist army, withdrew his support of Carranza. Promising land reform, he joined with the Zapatistas to force Carranza out of power. Amid a great deal of popular support, Obregón was elected president. Obregón was powerful and capable of imposing order. Over the next four years, Obregón put down several rebellions and built a new consensus among the leading forces of the Revolution.

## **Re-making Mexico**

The Revolution took a heavy toll on Mexico. Between 1.5 and 2 million Mexicans died during the war, mainly from disease and famine. Much of Mexico's infrastructure had been damaged in the fighting and the economy needed serious attention. Mexico needed to be rebuilt, but more than this, leaders after the Revolution faced the daunting task of imple-



menting the reforms of the new constitution. For many Mexicans, the true Revolution was not the battles and fighting but the revolutionary social and economic changes promised by the constitution of 1917. The reforms of this post-Revolution period would completely change Mexican society.

### ***How did the political environment change after the Revolution?***

The two major political figures of this era were Plutarco Elias Calles and Lázaro Cárdenas. Calles was president from 1924 to 1928 but exercised a great deal of control over the Mexican presidency until 1935. Calles created the National Revolutionary Party (PRN) in 1929 to bring stability and control to Mexican politics. The PRN was a political party that united the hundreds of political movements that had arisen during the revolution. The PRN made itself the symbol of Mexico's revolutionary reforms, using slogans and images from the Revolution to earn the public's support. All major organizations and influential figures affiliated themselves with it. Under Calles, most party members were government officials. Cárdenas, president from 1934 to 1940, opened party membership up to workers, unions, and peasants. By 1940, the party had expanded to control nearly all potential opposition. Most people trusted in the party to protect the rights that had been won in the Revolution and they would automatically vote for whatever presidential candidate had been chosen by the party leadership. The PRN, later renamed the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI), effectively controlled Mexican politics and the



A Mexican primary school in the early twentieth century.

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presidency for the remainder of the twentieth century.

### ***How did the Revolution change Mexican society?***

The Mexican Revolution created a strong sense of nationalism and national identity for most Mexicans. Many viewed the Revolution not only as the driving force for economic and political changes, but also as a cultural revolution. The goal of this cultural revolution was to "Mexicanize" the population so that Mexican people would respect and have pride in uniquely Mexican ways and traditions, rather than always seeking to copy the West.

Education was the primary source of this cultural change. The government built thousands of new schools, particularly in remote rural regions. These schools opened their doors to rich and poor alike, girls as well as





boys. Schools not only taught reading and writing, but also patriotism, citizenship, reverence of the agrarian lifestyle, and the dignity of work. In this way, government leaders began to blend diverse groups and regions into a unified, national culture.

***“To integrate Mexico through the rural school—that is, to teach the people of the mountains and of the faraway valleys, the millions of people that are Mexicans but are not yet Mexican, to teach them the love of Mexico and the meaning of Mexico.”***

—Assistant Minister of  
Public Education, 1926

### ***How did the government restructure the economy?***

The government was more cautious reforming the economy than it had been instituting cultural changes. Although foreign involvement in Mexico had inspired much of the early fighting of the Revolution, little changed in the 1920s. Foreign investment in Mexico continued to grow and Mexico became even more dependent on trade with the United States. This was a dangerous position for the Mexican economy, as became clear during the worldwide depression in the 1930s. Foreign demand for Mexican goods and oil plummeted, hurting nearly every sector of the Mexican economy.

Like many other Latin American governments at the time, the Mexican government initiated a new plan for economic growth called Import Substitution Industrialization or ISI. Under ISI, Mexico developed its domestic industry. New factories were created to manufacture goods that Mexico had typically imported before. These factories also used many of the agricultural goods and raw materials the country

had previously exported. The government passed laws to set prices and taxes that would protect these new industries in their infancy. For many Mexicans, domestic industrialization was a source of pride and many believed Mexico was finally controlling its own national destiny.

Economic changes during Cardenas’ presidency inspired further nationalist feelings. The constitution had given the government the right to nationalize, or take control of, foreign-owned mining and petroleum industries. In practice, little had been done to challenge foreign ownership. In the 1920s, Mexico was the third largest oil producer in the world but foreign companies dominated the industry. In 1938, workers organized a number of strikes against British and U.S. oil companies. When these companies refused to increase worker compensation, Cárdenas seized the property and nationalized the industry, bringing it under state control. This move was wildly popular among the Mexican populace and even the church. Many Mexican citizens viewed the nationalizations as a declaration of Mexico’s economic independence and voluntarily contributed money to help pay compensation to foreign owners.

### ***What was Cárdenas’ land reform program?***

Cárdenas’ land reform program also earned him a great deal of popular support. In the 1920s, land reform had proceeded slowly. Government leaders had seen land reform as



Mexican peasants in the 1920s.

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an issue of increasing the productivity and modernization of agriculture. They were reluctant to redistribute lands to peasants because they were afraid that breaking up the large haciendas would lead to food shortages. Under Cárdenas, however, land reform became an issue of justice. Many large farms were broken up and approximately fifty million acres of land was given to peasants, mostly to create new communal *ejidos*.

***“A new Mexico is being built and the redistribution of land is the foundation.... We are laying it with bleeding hands and in great stress, but we are laying it, and digging it so deep into the hearts of the nation that this work of the revolution will endure forever.”***

—Ramón P. de Negri,  
Secretary of Agriculture, 1924

Redistribution of land created violent struggles between landowners and agrarian activists. Nevertheless, during his term, Cárdenas oversaw the redistribution of nearly twelve percent of Mexico’s land. Although many peasants remained landless, Cárdenas’ land redistribution program ended more than four hundred years of concentrated landholding.

## **Economic Boom and Bust**

Cárdenas believed that he was creating a foundation for continuing economic and social reform. However, when Cárdenas left office in 1940, many of his programs ended. Land reform in particular was largely abandoned. Subsequent leaders focused instead on industrialization and economic growth.

### ***How did the Second World War affect Mexico?***

World War II initiated a long stretch of economic growth in Mexico. The United States and its allies needed food and raw materials, so demand for Mexico’s exports boomed. At the same time, the war effort in many countries limited their industrial production and

Mexico imported far less from abroad. Mexico’s domestic industries, producing many of the country’s former imports, flourished under the ISI strategy. These industries became more developed and better able to compete in international markets. The government continued to protect them by raising taxes on imported goods, making the domestic ones cheaper for people to buy.

Economic growth continued after the war, as Mexico joined in a worldwide economic expansion. The government focused its economic strategy on stability and growth, and supported the growth of private businesses and large-scale farmers. From 1940 to 1980, Mexico’s economy grew at an average annual rate of over six percent (by comparison, since 2001, the Mexican economy has grown at an average rate of two to four percent per year). The Mexican government continued to borrow internationally, and spent money creating roads, dams, and irrigation projects. Foreign investment, mostly from the United States, poured into the country, encouraged by Mexico’s stability.

This economic boom matched major changes in Mexican society. From 1940 to 1980, Mexico’s population grew from twenty to seventy million people. Urbanization transformed Mexico’s rural society and by 1980, more than twice as many people lived in cities than in rural areas. Over this period, Mexico City became one of the largest cities in the world.

### ***Why do many view this period as the end of Mexico’s revolutionary reform?***

Economic and social changes after World War II created a great deal of inequality in Mexican society. Economic growth did not translate into a higher standard of living for most of Mexico’s population. The government limited its funding of *ejidos* and many peasants again lost their land. Many left the countryside for the prosperity they believed they would find in the cities. But cities did not have enough jobs and many people remained unemployed. Urban growth strained city services such as housing, water, electric-



Library of Congress. Used with permission.

Mexico City in the 1930s.

ity, and sanitation. Those who did have jobs often earned low wages and the government became increasingly repressive of unions and strikes.

As much of the population grew poorer, many believed that the government had betrayed the revolution's social reforms. After Cárdenas, the government largely abandoned the reforms of the Revolution. The middle class, beneficiaries of economic growth, grew larger and wealthier and became more conservative. Most wanted to preserve what they had rather than change the system to benefit the poor. The middle class was a powerful force in the PRI, which still retained control of the government. During this period, the Mexican government increasingly repressed peasant and worker discontent and jailed anyone engaged in activities considered threatening to society.

For most of the 1940s and 1950s, the middle class accepted this repression because the economy was strong. In the 1960s, however, the economy slowed as foreign demand

for agricultural goods declined. Urban middle class dissatisfaction grew as the cities were strained by even more peasant migration. Many believed that government officials were corrupt, getting richer as most of the population grew poorer. Middle class students and professionals, as well as the poor, began to protest the government more frequently. The government responded with increased repression, as demonstrated in the Tlatelolco massacre in 1968 (see box on page 22). At the same time, decline in the agricultural sector forced the government to import even more foodstuffs to feed its growing population. To afford this, the government once again

turned to foreign borrowing.

#### ***How did the economy change in the 1970s?***

In the 1970s, Mexico's economic strains began to show themselves more clearly. Foreign demand for Mexico's exports decreased and the government owed a huge foreign debt. In an attempt to reverse this trend, the government tried to limit its foreign imports. Then, in the late 1970s, Mexico's fortune changed. Mexicans discovered new reserves of oil and gas and by 1981, Mexico was the fourth largest producer of oil in the world. At the same time, international oil prices skyrocketed and the country was suddenly flush with cash. The government began spending on social projects, increasing public employment, and creating social welfare programs. This economic boom boosted the public's confidence and renewed support for the PRI.

***“For the first time in our history...  
we were being courted by the most***





## The Tlatelolco Massacre

The PRI's repression of opponents broke into the open most dramatically in 1968, when Mexico was preparing to become the first developing country to host the Olympics. In July, a few months before the summer games were scheduled to begin, the riot police brutally repressed a student fight, mistaken as a protest. Government violence and the jailing of many student leaders sparked major protests, not only of students but of middle class and poor workers across the city. The government, afraid of the effect of these protests on its international image, arrested hundreds and led raids against supposed dissidents.

***“We have caused Mexico to appear in the eyes of the world as a country in which the most reprehensible events may take place; for the unfair and almost forgotten image of the Mexican as a violent, irascible gunman to be revived...”***

—President Díaz Ordaz, State of the Union Address, September 1968

By October, only a few thousand continued to protest. They organized a demonstration in a plaza in the city district of Tlatelolco on October 2. Many spectators, including children, joined the rally, listening to the impassioned speeches of protesters. After a few hours, the army and police arrived and surrounded the plaza. Although the government denied the reports of observers, many reported that state forces opened fire on the crowd and killed as many as four hundred people, arresting two thousand more.

Although the Olympic Games proceeded conflict-free, the Mexican people were shocked at the government's violence. The massacre significantly weakened support for the PRI, beginning a decades long process that would eventually challenge PRI control of the government. The protests also illuminated the growing discontent in Mexico's cities.

***important people in the world. We thought we were rich. We had oil.”***

—Jesus Silva Herzog,  
Minister of Finance 1982-1988

But Mexico's economic troubles were far from over. Mexico's agricultural sector was still unable to feed the population, and the government continued to import large quantities of food. The government also paid for subsidies, money that was paid to producers to keep food and fuel cheaper for Mexican consumers. Although the government earned huge amounts of money from the oil and gas industries, it was forced to borrow even more money to finance all of its expenses. From 1976 to 1982, Mexico's foreign debt nearly

tripled and Mexico became one of the most heavily indebted countries in the developing world.

The government assumed it would be able to pay back these loans as oil prices continued to rise. But in 1982, oil prices decreased sharply and the Mexican economy, losing its main source of revenue, crashed. At the same time, due to a worldwide economic recession, international demand for Mexican exports declined. Foreign banks could no longer afford to lend money to the Mexican government. In a matter of months, the Mexican government found itself facing bankruptcy. Many of Mexico's leaders believed that only drastic economic change would save Mexico from this crisis.



## Part III: Mexico Today

When the economy crashed in 1982, the Mexican government faced serious financial problems. The country had a foreign debt of \$80 billion, and its primary sources of revenue—oil, mineral, and agricultural exports—were being sold on the international market at drastically reduced prices. The government had no money and was not only unable to pay off its debt, but also could not continue many of its social welfare programs. Unemployment skyrocketed and those fortunate enough to keep their jobs faced dramatically lowered wages.

### Mexico in the 1980s and 1990s

The problems which arose from this economic crisis caused Mexico's leaders to reassess their economic policies. Since the 1920s, the government had been actively involved in Mexico's economy. After 1982, many believed that less government involvement, coupled with greater participation in international markets, was necessary to improve Mexico's economy.

#### *How was the international community involved in Mexico's economic changes?*

To begin Mexico's economic recovery, the government needed to negotiate with foreign banks, mostly from the United States, about how Mexico would repay its international debt. Negotiations were spearheaded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Established at the end of World War II, the IMF is an international organization created to help provide global economic stability.

The IMF gave the Mexican government a loan to help pay back foreign banks in exchange for the government's acceptance of an economic reform program. Many of Mexico's leaders believed that the reforms were the medicine that Mexico's economy desperately needed and they pursued the program with enthusiasm. In keeping with IMF requirements, the government cut its spending on social projects, kept wages low, promoted exports,

and discouraged imports. This improved the economy by limiting spending while increasing revenue, and by the late 1980s the economic crisis had eased.

Mexico's leaders continued Mexico's economic transformation even after the economy improved. Carlos Salinas, elected president in 1988, instituted an economic program that he believed would increase Mexico's foreign trade. This type of policy is known as "free trade" because it lowers barriers, such as taxes and government protections, so that foreign trade becomes cheaper. From 1985 to 1992, the average tax on imported consumer goods fell from 60 percent to less than 20 percent. At the same time, Salinas sold off many prominent state-owned firms, including the country's telephone company, airlines, and a large steel mill. The number of companies under government control dropped from 1,555 in 1982 to 217 in 1992, shrinking the government's role in the economy.

#### *What events in the 1980s undermined support for the PRI?*

The economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s critically weakened support for Mexico's ruling political party, the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI). By limiting the role of government in the economy, the PRI created a government that had less influence in people's daily lives. Cuts in government spending limited the PRI's ability to carry out popular social programs. At the same time, the privatization of Mexican industry meant that there were far fewer jobs to award to political supporters.

In addition to its unpopular economic reforms, the PRI made a number of political missteps in the 1980s that caused it to lose significant public support. In 1985, a major earthquake struck Mexico City, killing more than 20,000 people and leaving another 200,000 homeless. Rather than follow the army's standard emergency relief plan, the government relied on local workers to help



Liba Taylor/Panos Pictures. Used with permission

Super Barrio in front of a mural in his honor.

victims. Initially refusing international assistance, the government provided almost no aid to most of Mexico City's population. When the army was finally deployed, it was sent to pro-

tect Mexico City's factories from looting rather than to rescue civilians.

In the absence of government relief, Mexico City's people joined together to help themselves. Many began to question the legitimacy of a government that did not take care of its people. Hundreds of grassroots and community organizations began to form in opposition to the PRI.

Pressure for democracy began to boil over the top of the Mexican political system by the late 1980s. The Alliance for Change, later renamed the National Action Party (PAN), the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), and other opposition parties became more active. In 1988, the presidential election was the closest race in Mexican history up to that point. When the PRI's Salinas was declared the winner, many believed that the PRI had rigged the election, purposely miscounting votes. Taking to the streets, Mexicans protested the results, criticizing the PRI for stealing the election. Although Salinas took over the presidency with the support of PAN, opposition to the PRI continued to grow.

### ***How did NAFTA change Mexico's economy?***

The Mexican government continued to reform the economy throughout the 1990s, despite diminishing popular support. Under President Salinas, the Mexican government negotiated with the United States and Canada

### **Super Barrio Saves the Day**

Many popular heroes also emerged in the aftermath of Mexico City's 1985 earthquake. Superheroes from the United States had long been popular in Mexico. When the government failed to provide relief for Mexico City's victims, a number of individuals decided to create real life superheroes to provide assistance and encouragement to the people. Rejecting U.S. characters such as Batman or Superman, these masked crusaders imitated popular Mexican comic book heroes, such as Super Barrio (a *barrio* is a city neighborhood). Dressed in tights and masks, Super Barrio and his fellow superheroes went throughout the city, handing out supplies to earthquake victims. These local heroes became symbols of hope and of opposition to the inadequacies of the government. Super Barrio later became a symbol of the Assembly of Barrios, a community group formed after the earthquake, and now represents the struggles of the urban poor. In years after, other activist superheroes emerged, including Super Eco, a champion of environmental issues, and El Chupacabras Crusader, who fights for Mexicans suffering from debt, wearing a fanged mask and business suit.





to increase trade on the continent. Years of talks among the three countries eventually produced the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which took effect in 1994. NAFTA was created to lower barriers to trade among North American countries. In Mexico, this means that Mexican exports are now cheaper for U.S. and Canadian consumers, and at the same time, Mexican imports from the United States and Canada are cheaper for Mexican consumers. When NAFTA was enacted, over two-thirds of Mexico's exports were permitted to enter the United States and Canada tax-free, and by 2009 all import taxes are scheduled to be lifted.

NAFTA made Mexico a hot spot for investors. From 1990 to 1993, Mexico attracted more foreign investment (\$53 billion) than any other developing country. Because Mexico could trade more cheaply with the United States, many international manufacturers moved their plants to Mexico. At the same time, many U.S. businesses opened factories in

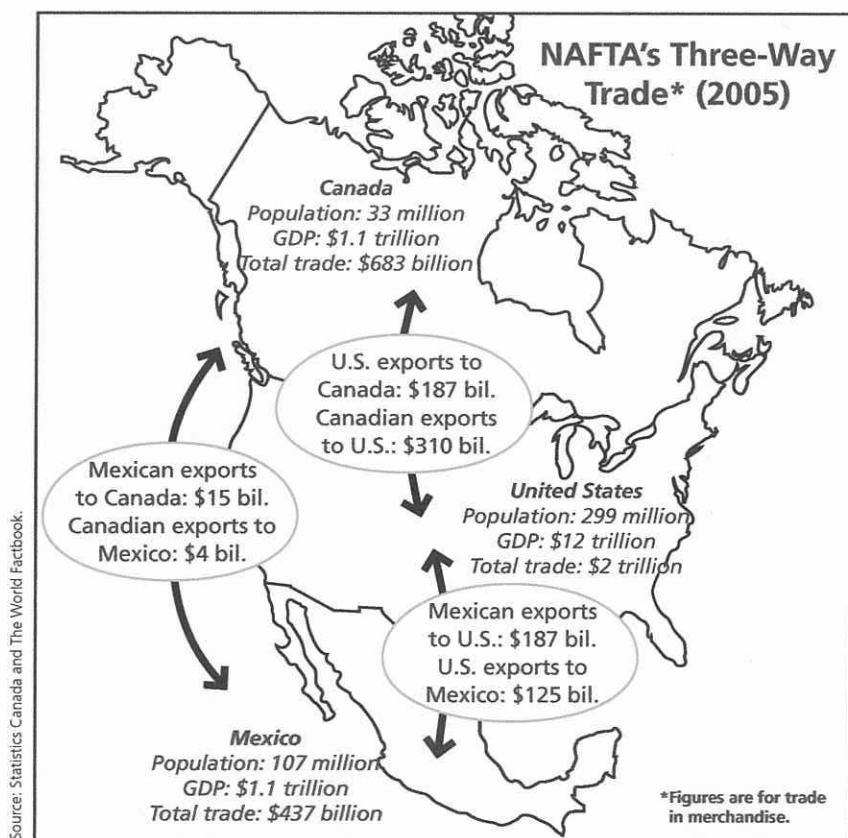
Mexico because they could pay Mexican workers lower wages. Mexico's exports boomed, thanks largely to the growth in manufacturing. General Motors became Mexico's largest private employer, with forty plants and a work force of forty thousand.

The Mexican government believed that increasing exports to the North American market would create millions of new jobs in Mexico's factories and farms. It believed that the breakdown in trade barriers would spur modernization and innovation throughout the Mexican economy. However, most of Mexico's manufacturing growth has taken place in the two thousand assembly plants, or *maquiladoras*, in northern Mexico. These *maquiladoras*, many owned by prominent European and Japanese companies, put together component parts to create electronic goods, automobiles, and other items for shipment across the U.S. border. Most of the products used by the plants are imported and thus the factories contribute little to other Mexican industries.

At the same time, the workers in these plants make, on average, between six and eight dollars a day (The average wage for manufacturing workers in the United States is more than seventeen dollars per hour).

**How did these economic changes affect Mexico's population?**

The free market reforms that began in the 1980s plugged Mexico into the global economy and enriched a small elite, but they did not benefit most Mexicans. Under President Salinas, the number of billionaires in Mexico rose from two to twenty-four. At the same time, the standard of living for many of Mexico's middle class and





poor did not improve.

The economic situation grew even more dire in 1994, when the economy collapsed again. In a matter of months, the economic progress that average Mexicans had achieved since the 1982 crash had been wiped out. Over one million workers lost their jobs. Those remaining in the workforce suffered wage cuts of at least one-third. At the same time, social programs for the poor were again reduced in order to limit government spending.

***How did the public support for the PRI erode in the 1990s?***

Inequality and worsening poverty increased animosity toward the PRI. After the country's economic crisis in the 1990s, for example, the Mexican government became the butt of jokes and political cartoons. Protesters chanted, "First world. Ha, ha, ha" to mock earlier hopes that Mexico would soon be ranked among wealthier nations.

Throughout the 1990s, the PRI slowly began to lose its control over the government. In 1989, a PAN candidate became the first member of an opposition party to become governor of one of Mexico's thirty-one states. By 1996, PAN mayors governed five of Mexico's seven largest cities. In national elections, voter turnout reached record levels, rising from 50 percent in 1988 to 77.7 percent in 1994. In 1997, for the first time in the party's history, the PRI lost control of the lower house of the Mexican Congress. Opposition parties became increasingly popular as Mexicans made it clear that they would no longer stand for election fraud and an undemocratic government.



The Zapatista army.

Clive Shirley/Panos Pictures. Used with permission.

***How did the Zapatista army respond to the economic problems?***

Frustration with the government began to boil over in the southern state of Chiapas in 1994. Local peasants, calling themselves Zapatistas after the army that Emiliano Zapata led during the Mexican Revolution, organized a guerrilla army to fight on behalf of the region's indigenous people. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) declared war on the government and led a rebellion against both local and national government beginning on January 1, 1994.

***“We are the product of 500 years of struggle.... But today we say enough!”***

—From the “Declaration of War” of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation

The Zapatistas were fighting not only for land reform and the greater independence of indigenous communities, but also for economic justice and the end of the PRI's hold on political power. The EZLN rebellion was specifically planned to coincide with the day that NAFTA would take effect. The Zapatistas believed that NAFTA was yet another example of a government reform that would make the lives of the rich easier while the poor continued to suffer.



During the rebellion, EZLN soldiers, wearing black ski masks or red bandanas across their faces, took government officials hostage, blew up telephone and electrical towers, and set off car bombs in Mexico City. The government brutally suppressed the rebellion, and the Zapatistas and the government quickly negotiated a cease-fire. Within a year, however, the peace talks had failed. The conflict continued, pitting village against village, often spilling over into bloodshed. Throughout the 1990s, hundreds of EZLN supporters, government supporters, and local villagers in Chiapas were killed in the violence.

The rebellion in Chiapas was connected to greater instability within Mexico during the 1990s. In addition to the economic upheaval caused by the passage of NAFTA, in 1994, Luis Donaldo Colosio, the PRI's presidential candidate, was assassinated while campaigning for the election. Colosio had given numerous speeches about the need for political reform and many Mexicans believed that the government had been involved in his murder. In public opinion polls that year, nearly 70 percent of urban residents believed that Mexico's political situation was a critical problem.

## Challenges Today

By international standards, Mexico is not a poor country. The United Nations ranked Mexico 53rd among 177 countries in terms of development in 2005. At the same time, Mexico's population of 107 million people is pressing the limits of the country's resources. The fanfare surrounding NAFTA and increased foreign investment has raised Mexican expectations for a better life but has failed

to deliver substantial results. As the protests after the 2006 elections demonstrated, much of Mexican society is no longer willing to wait for the brighter future that has been promised since the 1980s.

### *Why was the presidential election of 2000 so important?*

After 71 years of PRI political control, in the 2000 election, a PAN-party candidate, Vicente Fox, won the Mexican presidency in 2000. When Fox was elected, many believed the country would see great political and economic reform, including poverty relief and the end of government corruption. Fox promised to create one million new jobs per year and to negotiate with U.S. President Bush to legalize the ten million undocumented Mexican workers in the United States. Many of Fox's promises were not realized. For most Mexicans, little has changed since 2000. Fox continued the free market reforms of his predecessors and Mexico continues to be a very unequal society.

### *How has NAFTA affected Mexico's people?*

NAFTA has further widened the gap between the haves and have-nots in Mexico. Mexico's most efficient industries are among the success stories boosted by NAFTA. High-tech steel plants and glass manufacturers in Monterrey, for example, have substantially increased their exports to the United States and Canada. Since 1995, Mexico has recorded healthy trade surpluses with the United States. Buoyed by these successes, the Mexican government has negotiated additional free trade agreements with the European Union and other Latin American countries.

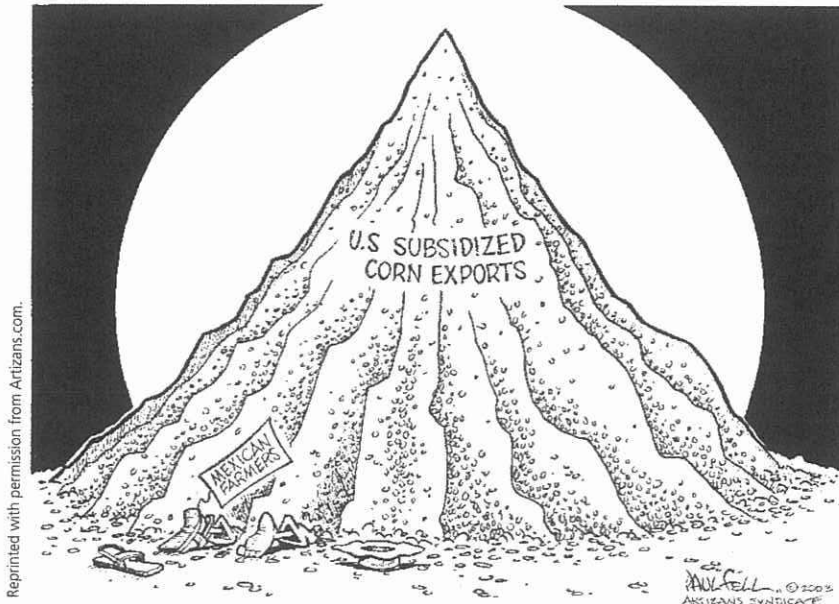
Most Mexicans, however, are more inclined to blame NAFTA and free trade for the thousands of jobs lost in struggling factories producing toys, candy, textiles, and other consumer goods. Competition from U.S. corn imports, for instance, is hindering local corn production, leading to increasing numbers of bankrupt Mexican farmers. Many workers in Mexican's foreign factories also do not earn enough to get by. In 2004, a U.S. research

### Mexico at a Glance

Area:.....	761,606 square miles
Arable land:.....	13%
Population:.....	107 million
Life expectancy:.....	73 male, 78 female
Per capita GDP:.....	\$10,000
Internet Users:.....	17 million

Source: The CIA World Factbook.





center found that a *maquiladora* worker would have to work for five to six hours in order to afford one gallon of milk in Tijuana, one of Mexico's northern cities. Mexico's *maquiladoras* have also made the country more dependent on U.S. consumers. When Americans limited their spending during an economic recession in 2001, the *maquiladoras* fired as many as 400,000 workers.

Many economists question if Mexico's economic reforms were too rushed. Many Mexican businesses struggle to compete with the United States, the world's strongest economy.

***“It’s as if I climbed in the ring with Mike Tyson for fifteen rounds. The impact [of NAFTA] has been brutal.”***

—Javier Higuera, unemployed accountant

The Mexican government is afraid that increased unemployment from NAFTA will push even more Mexicans to migrate to the United States. In 2002, Mexican leaders tried to renegotiate the terms of NAFTA with the U.S. government in order to protect Mexican small farmers. The U.S. government refused, suggesting instead that it might increase the amount of temporary work visas to the United

States available to Mexican farm workers.

The effect of NAFTA on Mexico's self-image has also been jarring. American-style department stores and fast-food chains have begun to appear in many of northern Mexico's cities and in Mexico City itself. Parts of Mexico are now indistinguishable from the United States, with strip malls of stores like Staples, McDonald's, and Starbucks.

### ***How has Mexico's relationship with the United States changed?***

In the decades after the Mexican Revolution, Mexico's leaders sought to assert their country's independence by keeping the United States at arm's length. In the United Nations, Mexico routinely opposed U.S. interests. Mexico was also one of the few countries in the Western Hemisphere to reject cooperation with the U.S. military. The Mexican armed forces long identified the United States as Mexico's most likely enemy. Until 1996, Mexico refused to extradite Mexican citizens wanted for crimes in the United States. Mexico's economic reforms and NAFTA have been accompanied by a shift in Mexican policy toward the United States. Since the mid-1990s, the Mexican government has been much more willing to cooperate with the U.S. government.

From the Mexican perspective, Mexican-U.S. relations have never been an equal contest. The United States has long held enormous economic leverage over Mexico. U.S. economic output is nearly twelve times greater than that of Mexico. The United States accounts for about four-fifths of Mexico's imports and exports, while Mexico is involved in only one-tenth of total U.S. trade.

There is also a huge imbalance in terms of attention. Mexicans have long been absorbed



by their country's relationship with the United States. The territorial losses of the Mexican-American War are still a common point of reference in Mexican politics. In contrast, U.S. citizens have rarely looked south. Only in recent years, with the discovery of new oil deposits, the rising tide of illegal immigration and drug trafficking, and the passage of NAFTA, has Mexico come into sharper focus for the United States.

***“So far from God. So close to the United States.”***

—Mexican expression

***How does the issue of undocumented immigration affect relations with the United States?***

The issue of undocumented Mexican immigration to the United States has been especially sensitive. Mexican leaders are under pressure to defend the rights of their citizens in the United States. At the same time, they

face demands from Washington to control the flow of illegal aliens across the border. Mexican officials have recently suggested that the United States issue work permits to protect Mexican laborers from abuse. Meanwhile, they have allowed the United States to airlift Mexican illegal aliens deep into Mexico, rather than simply dropping them across the border.

At the beginning of his term, President Vicente Fox proposed reintroducing programs to allow Mexican laborers to enter the United States and return to Mexico after a six-month period. U.S. President George W. Bush was willing to reevaluate the questions surrounding the U.S.-Mexican border, but the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 put the subject on hold for years.

In 2006, the issue of Mexican immigration again came to the forefront. For most of the year, the U.S. Senate debated an immigration bill supported by President Bush that would tighten border security, address the issue of undocumented Mexicans living

in the United States, and create programs for future Mexican migration. The Mexican government supported full legalization of undocumented Mexican immigrants and President Fox went on a speaking tour around the United States to increase popular support for this. In the end, however, the U.S. Congress limited the bill to border security. Signed by President Bush in October 2006, the bill calls for the construction of a fence to stretch for seven hundred of the approximately two thousand miles of the U.S.-Mexico border in order to prevent illegal border crossings.



El Fisgon in La Jornada.

A Mexican view of U.S. border control policy.



***How have drugs and crime affected Mexican society?***

Another point of contention between Mexico and the United States is the issue of drug trafficking. Since the late 1980s, drug trafficking in Mexico has become a major industry. Mexican drug bosses now work closely with their counterparts in Colombia to smuggle cocaine into the United States. Many have set up their own distribution networks in the U.S. market.

U.S. sources contend that approximately sixty-five percent of the cocaine reaching the United States comes through Mexico. Although the cocaine is produced in Columbia, it is often smuggled across the southern U.S. border by Mexican drug traffickers. In addition, Mexican drug traffickers supply most of the heroin consumed in the western states of the United States and have expanded their trade in marijuana and synthetic drugs, such as methamphetamines.

The Mexican government has warned that the drug trade poses a threat to Mexico's security and stability. Drug profits have allowed major traffickers to buy off police, military, and local political officials. Many Mexicans believe that drug money has penetrated the top ranks of the government.

Drugs have also caused an increase in violent crime in Mexico. Crime in Mexico, often linked to the explosive growth of Mexico's cities and the tensions brought on by economic change, has long been a problem. In recent years, however, highly organized crime linked to the buying, selling, and trafficking of drugs has been on the rise. Drug gangs have been involved in countless kidnappings and murders, usually of other gang members or of law enforcement officials. In 2005, drug-related violence killed more

than 1,500 people.

Despite the increase in violence, popular culture has, to some extent, idealized the lives and struggles of drug traffickers. A popular type of Mexican music, known as *narcocorridos*, treats drug dealers as popular heroes.

***“I don't belong to anyone.  
I administer my business.  
My clients are in my pocket,  
everything is going fabulously  
The little Colombian rock is making  
me famous.”***

—Los Tucanes de Tijuana,  
“The Little Colombian Rock”

***Why do the questions of land reform and the indigenous communities persist?***

While the problem of drug trafficking dates back a few decades, the challenges of land reform and the fate of indigenous communities are as old as Mexico itself.

Roughly one-quarter of the country's people still live in the countryside, often in suffocating poverty. Land reforms after the Mexican Revolution were not sufficient to bring prosperity to the countryside. Population growth has left many peasants with tiny plots. Few banks are interested in offering loans to



A sign at Mexico's border with the United States.

Liba Taylor/Panos Pictures.





support small farmers, while government investment in farming has been meager.

The *ejidos*—lands traditionally owned collectively by rural communities—are home to fifteen million of Mexico's poorest citizens. Most peasants on *ejido* land continue to grow corn and beans, rejecting other more profitable crops in favor of the traditions of their ancestors. Roughly 80 percent of *ejido* farmers consume virtually all of the meager harvest they produce, while the Mexican government continues to import corn to feed its cities.

Recent legislative changes have brought more misery to the rural population, at least in the short term. In the late 1980s, Salinas amended the constitution to privatize the *ejidos*. For the first time since the Revolution, peasants were allowed to buy and sell land and seek foreign investment. Salinas hoped that breaking up the *ejido* system would promote the modernization of agriculture in the central and southern parts of the country. He saw successful commercial farms in northern Mexico as a model. There, farmers grow cotton, oranges, strawberries, melons, tomatoes and other export crops, often on irrigated land.

The lives of many rural poor became worse as a result of Salinas' reforms. The demands of agricultural efficiency require larger plots. As peasants sell off their land, they often head to big cities or the United States in search of work. In addition, those who remain must compete against U.S.-grown corn and other imported crops as a result of NAFTA.

The troubles in Mexico's countryside are closely connected to the plight of the country's indigenous population. Indigenous people, who comprise at least ten percent of the national population, formed the backbone of the *ejido* system. Since the Revolution, government policy has focused on strengthening indigenous communities through bilingual education and the preservation of local traditions. Nonetheless, few of Mexico's indigenous groups are equipped to take advantage of the opportunities generated by economic reform. On the contrary, their low levels of education

and concentration in the countryside have left them especially vulnerable.

### ***How has the Zapatista rebellion spread?***

Many of Mexico's social and economic problems can be seen clearly in Chiapas, where the 1994 Zapatista rebellion began. The break-up of the *ejido* system, discrimination against indigenous peoples, NAFTA, overpopulation, and the steady destruction of tropical forest have compounded the region's deep-seated poverty. The scars of the Spanish conquest remain visible in Chiapas' stark economic divisions. Forty-five percent of the land in Chiapas is held by one percent of the state's landowners. Thousands of landless indigenous peasants have been forced to work for low wages on the cattle ranches and cotton plantations of the wealthy. The drug trade has escalated the level of violence, even as new democratic movements have provided an outlet for the concerns of the poor.

After the first EZLN rebellion in Chiapas in 1994, guerrilla violence spread to other poor states in southern Mexico. The Zapatistas themselves have expanded since the 1990s, coordinating with activists across the country and across the world via the internet. The Zapatistas have pledged their support to all Mexicans who are poor and exploited, and they have also joined international organizations in a worldwide movement against free trade.

When President Fox was elected in 2000, he quickly reopened negotiations with the EZLN. Although many Zapatista demands have not been met, much of the violence has ended. In 2001, the organization stated that it would begin to participate in the country's political process. In the six months leading up to the 2006 election, the EZLN organized a movement called The Other Campaign to oppose Mexico's mainstream political parties. The organization toured the country to raise popular support for more comprehensive political, social, and economic change.



Today Mexico's political and economic transformation continues. Yet the numerous economic and political crises of the last decade have led many Mexicans to question what kind of a future they want for their country. As Mexicans look ahead, many also look back to their history. Although Mexicans draw

different lessons from their country's past, history shapes how Mexicans see themselves and the world. The early indigenous civilizations, the arrival of the Spanish and independence, as well as Mexico's long relationship with the United States all contribute to Mexican's sense of what their country is and what it should be.

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**L**ike the Mexican people themselves, you will have an opportunity in the coming days to consider a range of alternatives for Mexico's future. The three viewpoints, or Futures, that you will explore are written from a Mexican perspective. Each is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs about the appropriate economic system, political structure, and social priorities for Mexico. You should think of the Futures as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting political philosophies from which the Mexican people may choose.

Eventually, you will be asked to create a Future that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where Mexico should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one Future, combine ideas from several Futures, or take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide.



## Futures in Brief

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### Future 1: Justice for the People

The will of the Mexican people is being denied in the name of international capitalism and free markets. NAFTA has opened our country to a new form of exploitation by the United States. Mexico has been shoved, weak and defenseless, into the global marketplace. The results have been devastating. Mexico must heed the cry for justice from its people. We must rekindle the promise of the Mexican Revolution for those who have known only poverty and oppression. Fairness and equality must serve as the foundation for a new society. The enormous imbalance between rich and poor must be corrected. With commitment and struggle, all Mexicans can at last have an opportunity to share in the wealth of our country.

### Future 2: Restore Order and Stability

After decades of steady advancement, our country's era of stability and development has been sidetracked. In its place, we have crime, corruption, and disorder. The politicians responsible for the mess call our present turmoil the price of progress. In reality, Mexico is sliding backward. We are drifting toward a repetition of the violence and destruction of the Revolution. Mexico must take strong measures to restore order and turn back the forces of disintegration. The unrestrained capitalism of the United States cannot be transplanted to Mexican soil. Nor can our carefully crafted political system be overturned in the span of a few years. Rather, we must follow a course that fits Mexico. Let us join together in restoring the system that has served our country well.

### Future 3: Embrace the Future

At long last, Mexico is in a position to realize its potential. Our country stands ready to make the leap from poverty to prosperity, from the rule of force to the rule of law. Since the early 1980s, Mexico has undergone a painful yet necessary transformation. We have prodded Mexico to the doorstep of the democratic, free-market world. Mexico must not retreat from our country's march of progress. We should step up our efforts to guide our country into the twenty-first century. Through renewed emphasis on improving the efficiency of the Mexican economy, we can expand exports and generate millions of new jobs. At the same time, economic reforms go hand-in-hand with the transformation of our political system. We have come much too far to turn back now.





## Future 1: Justice for the People

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Mexican history is scarred by betrayal and injustice. The blood of Emiliano Zapata and Miguel Hidalgo bear witness to the triumph of the powerful over the powerless. The same is happening today. The will of the Mexican people is being denied in the name of international capitalism and free markets. NAFTA has opened our country to a new form of exploitation by the United States. Mexico has been shoved, weak and defenseless, into the global marketplace. The results have been devastating. The vast majority of Mexicans have seen their living standards drop since the early 1980s. Millions of peasants have been pushed off the land. Unemployment has reduced a generation of workers to desperate poverty. Meanwhile, a handful of rich families has snatched up still more of our country's wealth.

Mexico must heed the cry for justice from its people. We must rekindle the promise of the Mexican Revolution for those who have known only poverty and oppression. Fairness and equality must serve as the foundation for a new society. We should begin the process of building a new Mexico by re-examining our roots as a people. The great civilizations that flourished in our country before the conquest by the Spanish deserve renewed attention as we look toward the future. The land and the people who farm it must be protected and nurtured. Government investment and land reform should concentrate on revitalizing our *ejido* communities and ensuring that Mexico can feed itself. In the broader economic sphere, Mexico must pursue a policy of economic development that places the needs of our people first. Our country's workers must be shielded from the twists and turns of international financial markets. The enormous imbalance between rich and poor must be corrected. Finally, our country's political system must be reformed to give a voice to the voiceless. True democracy must bring power to the people. With commitment and struggle, all Mexicans can at last have an opportunity to share in the wealth of our country.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Mexico should undertake a program of economic development. The state should take a leading role in managing the economy and promoting higher living standards. The minimum wage should be raised, the wealthy should be forced to pay their fair share of taxes, and government projects should be launched to hire the unemployed.

- Mexico should join with other developing nations to form a united front in trade negotiations with the developed world. Trade and investment policy should be designed to protect Mexican industry and safeguard our natural resources from foreign exploitation.

- Mexico should join with labor unions and environmental groups in the United States and Canada to press for the renegotiation of NAFTA. A revised agreement should center on

protecting workers' rights, the environment, and farming communities.

- Mexico should ensure that all of its citizens enjoy full democratic rights. The advantages of the PRI should be eliminated to create a level playing field for all political parties.

- Mexico should direct new resources toward strengthening *ejidos* and increasing food production for the Mexican market. Land taken unfairly from peasants should be returned.

- Mexico should nurture the language and culture of Indian communities.

- Mexico should place special emphasis on the development of the poor, especially women, through education, training, and self-help programs.



## Future 1 is based on the following beliefs

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- The state needs to play a central role in Mexico's economic development in order to put the country's resources to work for the common good and to reduce poverty.
- Mexico's problems, both today and in the past, are due mainly to the

concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a tiny, undemocratic elite.

- The international system, led by the United States, is based on the exploitation of Mexico and other developing nations.

## Arguments for

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1. Developing a program of careful economic planning will focus the country's economic resources on improving the lives of the Mexican people.
2. Clearing away the obstacles to full democracy will give all Mexicans, including the poor, an interest in maintaining a stable, democratic political system.
3. Investing in the advancement of peasant communities and other disadvantaged groups will finally allow the poorest among us to participate fully in the development of Mexican society.

## Arguments against

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1. Reversing years of free-market reform will leave Mexico isolated from the mainstream of the global economy and destroy the confidence of investors, both at home and abroad, in the Mexican economy.
2. Picking a fight with the United States will spark a trade war with our largest trading partner and close off markets to Mexico's export industries.
3. Re-establishing state control over the economy will undermine the modernization of Mexican industry, paving the way for the return of inefficiency, corruption, and backwardness.
4. Raising the political expectations of Mexico's poor will lead to greater pressure for reckless change and will ultimately sharpen tensions within Mexican society.

## Future 2: Restore Order and Stability

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Mexico is a country in crisis. After decades of steady advancement, our country's era of stability and development has been sidetracked. In its place, we have crime, corruption, and disorder. Mexican society is unraveling, and the chaos threatens to swallow up our entire country. The politicians responsible for the mess call our present turmoil the price of progress. In reality, Mexico is sliding backward. We are drifting toward a repetition of the violence and destruction of the Revolution. The 1994 financial crisis, soaring crime rates, and the guerrilla movements in Chiapas, Guerrero, and Oaxaca should serve as a warning. Mexico is on the wrong path. We have to return to the policies that laid the foundation for four decades of stability and development.

Mexico must take strong measures to restore order and turn back the forces of disintegration. The reckless experiments that have been imposed on our country must come to a halt. Mexico is unique. The unrestrained capitalism of the United States cannot be transplanted to Mexican soil. Nor can our carefully crafted political system be overturned in the span of a few years. Rather, we must follow a course that fits Mexico. We must recognize that our society cannot withstand the pressures of rapid change. The modernization of Mexico's economy is important, but the country must not be left at the mercy of North American investors and the global marketplace. Millions of Mexican workers cannot be thrown into the streets in the name of free trade. Giving Mexicans a political voice is a worthy goal, but it must be done within the realm of normal political processes. Above all, we as Mexicans should take pride in the society that we have built since the revolution. Let us not turn our backs on Mexico's accomplishments. Instead, let us join together in restoring the system that has served our country well.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Mexico should re-establish state ownership over key industries, such as energy, communications, and transportation. The government should work as a partner with leading private companies to ensure their stability and success.
- Mexico should protect important industries from unfair foreign competition. Foreign investment should be sought to advance the modernization of manufacturing and agriculture.
- Mexico should insist that NAFTA be renegotiated to protect vulnerable sectors of the Mexican economy.
- Mexico should take strong measures to reverse the spiral of political violence and unrest. The role of the government in promoting the unity and stability of Mexican society should be strengthened.
- Mexico should crack down against drug traffickers and concentrate on lowering the crime rate.
- Mexico should invest in strengthening important public institutions, such as schools, the university system, and *ejidos*.
- Mexico should promote a cooperative partnership between labor and industry.





## Future 2 is based on the following beliefs

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- With its history of violence and division, Mexico needs a strong central government to maintain stability and prevent chaos.
- The economic and political system of the United States is not suitable for Mexico.

- Unless people are united around a common set of goals, they will turn against one another.

### Arguments for

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1. Restoring the authority of the central government will strengthen the state's ability to combat the rise of crime and drug trafficking.
2. Rebuilding the legitimacy of the PRI will help promote a spirit of compromise among Mexico's competing interests and heal the divisions within our society.
3. Sheltering the Mexican economy from the full force of foreign competition will allow local companies to take root and grow.

### Arguments against

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1. Retreating from Mexico's commitment to free trade and free markets will lead foreign investors to withdraw their money from our country and trigger an economic collapse.
2. Blocking the road to democratic reform will force groups opposed to the government to turn to violence to make themselves heard.
3. Strengthening the power of the central government will only deepen the corruption and mismanagement that has crippled Mexican society.
4. Raising trade barriers to protect the Mexican economy will spark our NAFTA partners to retaliate and close the North American market to Mexican exports.



## Future 3: Embrace the Future

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At long last, Mexico is in a position to realize its potential. Our country stands ready to make the leap from poverty to prosperity, from the rule of force to the rule of law. Since the early 1980s, Mexico has undergone a painful yet necessary transformation. We have torn down the barriers that have stifled innovation in our economy. We have exposed Mexican industries to the invigorating winds of competition. A spotlight has been turned on the corruption and abuse within our political system. In short, we have prodded Mexico to the doorstep of the democratic, free-market world. Now we are ready to move forward.

Mexico must not retreat from our country's march of progress. The latest crisis must not be allowed to derail our program of reform. On the contrary, we should step up our efforts to guide our country into the twenty-first century. Through renewed emphasis on improving the efficiency of the Mexican economy, we can expand exports and generate millions of new jobs. Through a strong commitment to free-market principles, we can attract new foreign investment and continue the modernization of Mexican industry. Let us not lose sight of the opportunities before us. NAFTA has linked our country to the richest market in the world. Trade barriers no longer separate Mexican factories and farms from the more than 300 million prosperous consumers to our north. At the same time, economic reforms go hand-in-hand with the transformation of our political system. Mexico must continue on the path toward democracy. If we are eventually to take our place among the world's developed nations, we have to live by internationally accepted standards of law and human rights. We have come much too far to turn back now.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Mexico should move forward with the process of free-market economic reform. Special privileges and outdated regulations should be eliminated to spur competition. State-run companies, including the oil industry, should be sold to private investors.

- Mexico should lower trade barriers and reform its legal system to promote the growth of export industries and encourage foreign investment.

- Mexico should strive to establish a stable political system based on the rule of law. Democratic reforms should be gradually introduced

to guarantee fair, multi-party elections.

- Mexico should strongly support the full implementation of NAFTA without delay.

- Mexico should enforce strict limits on campaign spending to draw a clear line between political parties and the government.

- Mexico should ensure that farmers are able to buy and sell land, improve efficiency, and find a market for their crops.

- Mexico should hold down government spending by rooting out waste and corruption in existing programs.



## Future 3 is based on the following beliefs

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- The only path to economic development is through the acceptance of the free-market economic system and participation in the global marketplace.
- Thanks to rising levels of education, technological development,

and political maturity, Mexico is ready to build a society based on the rule of law and fair, multi-party elections.

- Mexico's long-term interests lie in linking our country with the United States and the other nations of the developed world.

## Arguments for

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1. Accepting the economic principles and legal standards of the developed world will help Mexico to attract foreign investment.

2. Establishing a society based on the rule of law will strengthen the confidence of Mexicans in their own economy and encourage them to invest their savings here at home.

3. Linking Mexico's future to the United States and other developed countries will give Mexico a greater voice in the World Trade Organization, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and other important international organizations.

## Arguments against

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1. Continuing the rapid pace of economic change will widen the income gap within Mexico, deepen poverty, and fuel the crime and disorder that threaten to destroy our society.

2. Tying Mexico's trade and finances to the United States will make our country more vulnerable than ever to pressure from Washington.

3. Opening Mexico up to unrestrained foreign investment will allow outsiders to snatch up our country's most prized industries, such as oil and transportation.

4. Rushing toward democracy will deepen our country's divisions and eventually pit one group against another in violent conflict.





## Supplementary Documents

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### Reply of the Lords and Holy Men of Tenochtitlan to the first Franciscan evangelizers in central Mexico, 1524

*The following account was written by or for Bernardino de Sahagún, a Spanish missionary. It was written in 1564, forty years after the meetings it discusses took place. Sahagún wanted to record and understand the views of Aztecs so as to be more successful at converting them to Christianity. The account reads like a single speech or letter, but in fact the ideas were originally expressed over several meetings between Aztec and Spanish leaders in Mexico.*

Our lords, leading personages of much esteem, you are very welcome to our lands and towns. We ourselves, being inferior and base, are unworthy of looking upon the faces of such valiant personages. God, Our Lord, has brought you to rule us. We do not know where you come from or where our lords and gods dwell because you have come by sea, through the clouds and mist, a route we have never known. God sends you among us as His own eyes, ears, and mouth. He who is invisible and spiritual becomes visible in you. And we hear His words with our own ears through you, His representatives. We have heard the words that you have brought us of the One who gives us life and being. And we have heard with admiration the words of the Lord of the World which he has sent here for love of us, and also you have brought us the book of celestial and divine words.

You have told us that we do not know the One who gives us life and being, who is Lord of the heavens and of the earth. You also say that those we worship are not gods. This way of speaking is entirely new to us, and very scandalous. We are frightened by this way of speaking because our forebears who engendered and governed us never said anything like this. On the contrary, they left us this our custom of worshipping our gods, in which

they believed and which they worshipped all the time that they lived here on earth. They taught us how to honor them. And they taught us all the ceremonies and sacrifices that we make. They told us that through them [our gods] we live and are, and that we were beholden to them, to be theirs and to serve our countless centuries before the sun began to shine and before there was daytime. They said that these gods that we worship give us everything we need for our physical existence: maize, beans, chia seeds, etc. We appeal to them for the rain to make the things of the earth grow.

These our gods are the source of great riches and delights, all of which belong to them. They live in very delightful places where there are always flowers, vegetation, and great freshness, a place unknown to mere mortals, called Tlalocan, where there is never hunger, poverty, or illness. It is they who bestow honors, property, titles, and kingdoms, gold and silver, precious feathers, and gemstones.

There has never been a time remembered when they were not worshipped, honored, and esteemed. Perhaps it is a century or two since this began; it is a time beyond counting....

It would be a fickle, foolish thing for us to destroy the most ancient laws and customs left by the first inhabitants of this land...for the worship, faith and service of the above-mentioned [gods], in which we were born and raised. And we are accustomed to them and we have them impressed on our hearts.

Oh, our lords and leaders you should take great care not to do anything to stir up or incite your vassals to some evil deed. How you could leave the poor elderly among us bereft of that in which they have been raised throughout their lives? Watch out that we do not incur the wrath of our gods. Watch out that the common people do not rise up against us if we were to tell them that the gods they have always understood to be sure are not gods at all.



It is best, our lords, to act on this matter very slowly, with great deliberation. We are not satisfied or convinced by what you have told us, nor do we understand or give credit to what has been said of our gods. It gives us anguish, lords and fathers, to speak this way. Here present are the lords charged with governing the kingdom and republics of this world. All of us together feel that it is enough to have lost, enough that the power and royal jurisdiction have been taken from us. As for our gods, we will die before giving up serving and worshipping them. This is our determination; do what you will. This will serve in rely and contradiction to what you have said. We have no more to say, lords.

### Testimonies from Tlatelolco, 1968

*The following excerpts are from eyewitness accounts of students who were at Tlatelolco Plaza during the massacre on October 2, 1968.*

“We knew that the police got gangs of roughnecks and bullies to commit outrages against the people, pretending they were members of the Movement and shouting ‘Hurray for students!’ In Coyoacán, a notorious gang of good-for-nothings, ‘Los Conchos,’ burned buses and manhandled the passengers and drivers. They wrecked stores and molested people on the streets, supposedly in the name of the Movement, but they hardly fooled anybody.... Why? Because that wasn’t the first time the police had resorted to such tactics, and people realized what they were up to. What’s more, even people who thought it was students who were responsible for such outrages regarded these incidents as more or less justifiable excesses: the vile language and the intrigues against the University in the Chamber of Deputies were bound at that point to be met with a certain amount of violence on the part of the students. In general, however, people could easily tell the difference between acts by more or less rebellious students and the outright provocations and the attempts to blacken the Movement’s name plotted by the police.” (*Gilberto Guevara Niebla*)

“We’ve already seen kids ten, eleven, twelve years old who know very well what fighting for the people’s freedom means. I remember very well, for instance, the Carlos Marx mini-brigade at the National School of Economics, consisting of one young girl and four teen-age girl students from the College of Madrid, all of them incredible kids: exuberant, brave, determined—some of the finest kids in their school.

“I think the Movement made such a deep impression on young kids that if there’s any hope at all for this country’s future, it’s because there is such an immense number of young people here in Mexico. The possibilities of a real revolution lie with the kids of various ages who stood on the sidewalks watching the demonstrations, seeing their older brothers and sisters march by, holding their parents’ hands at Movement meetings, those who have heard stories of the days of terror, or somehow felt them in their very bones. The government of this country ought to be very wary of kids who were ten or twelve or fifteen in 1968. However much they’re brainwashed, however they’re drugged, deep down they’ll remember for the rest of their lives the clubbings and the murders their older brothers and sisters were the victims of.... Despite the government’s every effort to make them forget, they will remember that as kids they witnessed the ignominy of clubbings, tear-gas grenades, and bullets. (*Eduardo Valle Espinoza*)

“Upstairs there on the speakers’ stand, the confusion soon became utter desperation. It was all quite clear then: this was a sneak attack on us. The Olimpia Battalion had their firearms trained on us. And they had begun firing at will at the crowd fleeing in panic down below. The sound of rifle and machine-gun fire, and the screams from the crowd and those of us there on the speakers’ stand, were really deafening.

“‘Get upstairs! Run for it!’ some of us shouted as we looked around for some way to get off that big wide balcony on the fourth floor of the Chihuahua building from which the speakers had been addressing the crowd.



“Eventually some of us found an apartment where we could take shelter for the time being. Others who weren’t as lucky were already lying dead or wounded from the deadly hail of bullets, or were about to be.

“The Army troops were shooting in all directions. It was impossible even to show our heads in that apartment. The bullets were flying about everywhere, imbedding themselves in the walls after having shattered the windowpanes and torn big holes in the curtains. Bits of plaster and other objects were raining down on our heads all over the place.

“That was where the agents arrested me: there in that apartment on the sixth floor of the Chihuahua building.” (*Pablo Gómez, economics student*)

## Testimonies from the Mexico City Earthquake, 1985

*The following excerpts are from newspaper accounts and interviews with earthquake survivors, rescue workers, and journalists after the Mexico City earthquake on September 19, 1985.*

“I invite all who suffer as I do at this moment to point to responsible parties and accuse them. We won’t let things rest. Let people use the proper tribunals to denounce the fact that international aid never reached the hands of the victims, that the supplies were sold in the provinces and the Federal District; that the army, far from helping us, stole people’s belongs...

“Let the people...speak up. And let them not be content with just making accusations, but go on to create an organization with staying power because Mexico’s social problem goes way beyond the earthquake.

“For the victims, for those of us who lost everything, a way of being able to live with ourselves is to participate in this change and not to allow business as usual. Let no one live in a house that can crumble....

“My family was not killed by the earthquake; what killed them was the fraud and corruption fostered by the government of

Mexico....

“We’re no longer the same.” (*Judith Garcia de Vega to Elena Poniatowska*)

“Raúl Trejo wrote, “The tragedy moves us all, in some way equalizing us, it evens us out.” Right now, I am not so sure. Oh, my Mexico, my wounded Mexico, my Mexico that contents itself with so little! Is it possible that we can still believe in the efficacy of government when, at the crucial moment, it was the people who did everything? Even yesterday, the people in the street appeared grateful because the Route 100 bus was free, pay phones were free, even when they had to break the hydrants open in the street because the water trucks hadn’t arrived. People ask for little and are satisfied with exceedingly little. The populace, these days, takes care of itself.

“In any case, those on the bottom are accustomed to the fact that nobody even throws them a line. The absolute uselessness of government is nothing new to them. They are so different from the apparatus of power, such helpless onlookers at government decisions, so elbowed to the side that one would think they do not speak the same language. What’s going on outside has nothing to do with what’s going on underneath this monumental umbrella of stone, nothing. The language of power is simply “other.” For all the talk about “the people,” they have never been granted anything but the role of extras; leaders have always been there to obstruct, to paralyze, to block the way....” (*Elena Poniatowska*)

“In many ways, the government is designed to control, to maintain institutions, to keep the status quo and exercise power. After September 19, it became evident that the government had been left behind; thirty-nine hours went by before the President addressed the nation.... In a nutshell, the government failed.

“First the government tried to minimize the disaster. It ordered the population, ‘Stay home,’ when it should have made an appeal to all professionals: engineers, physicians, ar-





chitects, miners, nurses, contractors, operators of cranes and bulldozers. Second, it rejected international aid, going so far as returning airplanes with cargo that later were made to come back. Yes, yes, we need the stuff, after all. Third, it launched the self-deception of 'normality.' We had to go back to normality at any cost. We were living through the greatest catastrophe of our history and they kept saying, 'Mexico is standing up; we are all standing; the country is still standing.' When we had not gotten our people out from under the twisted concrete, we were 'standing' and on our way to normality.

"It was the people—beyond all acronyms, political parties, government ministries, social classes—the guys and gals, the compadres, who organized themselves in the districts of the city. This is the way we got the rescue brigades and the shelters. Many hours went by before the government arrived to take the reins....

"I was astonished that there never was a call by the School of Medicine to its graduates, who could have been distributed among the emergency zones in an orderly way. What was done, was done voluntarily.

"No to normality. We refuse to go back to normality.' Gustavo Esteva." (*Elena Poniatowska*)

"We entered the building looking for survivors. But in fifteen minutes the machines were on again. But in fifteen minutes the machines went on again. Once again, I went out, explaining to him that we needed silence so we could hear the voices of survivors. He stopped the vehicles in a very bad mood, and we spent forty minutes of intense search in the three floors until we were persuaded that no life existed in there. The only thing to be done was to recover the bodies. We left a brigade in charge of that effort and departed wondering how many of the thirty-six people who were trapped could have been saved if someone had been there in the first three days after the earthquake....

"The hope that kept us all going was the

possibility of finding a person still breathing. That hope was stronger than fatigue, hunger, sweat, or dust...." (*Unknown rescue worker*)

"At the Red Cross they gave us T-shirts that read 'Rescue Worker' and 'Paramedic,' so on Friday, September 20, we were traveling on Cuauhtémoc Avenue, near the Ministry of Commerce, says Luis Bosoms, a twenty-two-year-old student from Anáhuac University, when the earth suddenly started quaking again: people stood in the middle of the street, others knelt down, others wailed loudly, and still others cried quietly....

"We had to stop the car because the ground underneath cracked open about twenty inches. Some buildings that had been damaged previously, but were still standing, crashed down all the way. There was no electricity. The air smelled of natural gas. You could hear explosions. If you looked up, you could see fires here and there on the horizon. I tried to life a woman from the ground, but she was stiff, praying aloud, 'Christ the King, the bleeding Christ, pray for us. Christ the King...'

"In the building across the street from us, some people were calling from the fifth floor. In spite of the smell of gas they had candles in their hands. The building they were in was still rocking. The neighbors saw us with Red Cross badges and came to beg us to go up and get them down. They said that the grandmother had a broken hip and couldn't make her way down...as if we were Superman. And that's what you want to be, mighty.

"Anyhow, we went to the building half dead of fright, we went up to where they were, put the old lady in a chair, and lowered her slowly, slowly, hoping there would be no more quakes and the building wouldn't give way. When people trust you like that, it makes you feel like an idiot. Because they put a badge on you, you are supposed to know what to do and what's going to happen. The feeling of impotence is awful when that kind of natural catastrophe strikes....

"On Sunday the 22nd, they sent us to the store to get cloth and string to make surgical



masks—I believe about 50,000 pesos were coming out of the cash register every five minutes. They gave us 30,000 pesos. Between the university and the store we collected 40,000 more. We told the store clerk that we wanted 70,000 pesos worth of cloth, not thinking about taxes and all that.

“It was a grocery store. I asked the manager to let me use the microphone and in five minutes I got 70,000 pesos more. One señora alone asked me, ‘How much do you need?’ and took out 30,000 pesos from her wallet. Even the maids would give us 200-peso donations.... In the afternoon we went to the bakery of Barri-laco to buy bread for sandwiches for the rescue workers. The man in charge asked me what I wanted so much bread for. For the Red Cross, I said. So sure enough, he told me to take all the bread he had, for nothing. I filled up the VW.

“The Camino Real Hotel sent food to the Red Cross. It was kind of surrealistic, to see trays of hors d’oeuvres delivered by uniformed waiters.

“People would come in to donate blood, to sweep the floor, to unload pots of food, whatever. It’s awesome, let me tell you! After an experience like that, you realize that you are not alone on an island, and that you better make yourself useful where you are.” (*interview reported by Marisol Martín del Campo*)

## **EZLN’s Declaration of War “Today we say ‘enough is enough!’ (Ya Basta!)”**

*First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle,  
1993*

**TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO:**

**MEXICAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS:**

We are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to avoid being absorbed by North American imperialism, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the French empire from our soil, and later the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz denied us the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders

like Villa and Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most elemental preparation so they can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country. They don’t care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads, no land, no work, no health care, no food nor education. Nor are we able to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor is there peace nor justice for ourselves and our children.

But today, we say ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.

We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation. The dispossessed, we are millions and we thereby call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the only path, so that we will not die of hunger due to the insatiable ambition of a 70 year dictatorship led by a clique of traitors that represent the most conservative and sell-out groups. They are the same ones that opposed Hidalgo and Morelos, the same ones that betrayed Vicente Guerrero, the same ones that sold half our country to the foreign invader, the same ones that imported a European prince to rule our country, the same ones that formed the “scientific” Porfirio dictatorship, the same ones that opposed the Petroleum Expropriation, the same ones that massacred the railroad workers in 1958 and the students in 1968, the same ones the today take everything from us, absolutely everything.

To prevent the continuation of the above and as our last hope, after having tried to utilize all legal means based on our Constitution, we go to our Constitution, to apply Article 39 which says:

“National Sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government.”

Therefore, according to our constitution, we declare the following to the Mexican federal army, the pillar of the Mexican dictatorship that we suffer from, monopolized by a one-party system and led by Carlos Salinas de



Gortari, the maximum and illegitimate federal executive that today holds power.

According to this Declaration of War, we ask that other powers of the nation advocate to restore the legitimacy and the stability of the nation by overthrowing the dictator.

We also ask that international organizations and the International Red Cross watch over and regulate our battles, so that our efforts are carried out while still protecting our civilian population. We declare now and always that we are subject to the Geneva Accord, forming the EZLN as our fighting arm of our liberation struggle. We have the Mexican people on our side, we have the beloved tricolored flag highly respected by our insurgent fighters. We use black and red in our uniform as our symbol of our working people on strike. Our flag carries the following letters, "EZLN," Zapatista National Liberation Army, and we always carry our flag into combat.

Beforehand, we refuse any effort to disgrace our just cause by accusing us of being drug traffickers, drug guerrillas, thieves, or other names that might be used by our enemies. Our struggle follows the constitution which is held high by its call for justice and equality.

Therefore, according to this declaration of war, we give our military forces, the EZLN, the following orders:

**First:** Advance to the capital of the country, overcoming the Mexican federal army, protecting in our advance the civilian population and permitting the people in the liberated area the right to freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities.

**Second:** Respect the lives of our prisoners and turn over all wounded to the International

Red Cross.

**Third:** Initiate summary judgments against all soldiers of the Mexican federal army and the political police that have received training or have been paid by foreigners, accused of being traitors to our country, and against all those that have repressed and treated badly the civil population and robbed or stolen from or attempted crimes against the good of the people.

**Fourth:** Form new troops with all those Mexicans that show their interest in joining our struggle, including those that, being enemy soldiers, turn themselves in without having fought against us, and promise to take orders from the General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

**Fifth:** We ask for the unconditional surrender of the enemy's headquarters before we begin any combat to avoid any loss of lives.

**Sixth:** Suspend the robbery of our natural resources in the areas controlled by the EZLN.

To the People of Mexico: We, the men and women, full and free, are conscious that the war that we have declared is our last resort, but also a just one. The dictators are applying an undeclared genocidal war against our people for many years. Therefore we ask for your participation, your decision to support this plan that struggles for work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. We declare that we will not stop fighting until the basic demands of our people have been met by forming a government of our country that is free and democratic.

JOIN THE INSURGENT FORCES OF THE  
ZAPATISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY.